

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
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ARCHAEOLOGIA;
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&c.

- I. *A Letter from JOHN GAGE, Esquire, Director, to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. Vice President, &c. accompanying a Plan of Barrows called the Bartlow Hills, in the parish of Ashdon, in Essex, with an account of Roman sepulchral relics recently discovered in the lesser Barrows.*

Read 5th April, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

AT the north-eastern extremity of the parish of Ashdon, in Essex, are certain artificial mounds, a plan of which I have the honour to lay before you. They consist, as you will observe, of a line of four greater Barrows, and of a line of three smaller Barrows, at the distance of between seventy and eighty feet in front of the others. The situation of these mounds is remarkable; they stand on a gentle acclivity in face of Bartlow church, the country gradually rising round them like an extended amphitheatre. Between the hills and the church, is a hollow to the north, down which runs a little brook

that divides the parishes of Ashdon and Bartlow, forming the boundary of the counties of Essex and Cambridge. Though the hills do not belong to the parish of Bartlow, which is in Cambridgeshire, nor to the hamlet of Bartlow, which is in Essex, still, from the received interpretation of the Saxon word *Low*,^a a Barrow, it is clear that they give name to the place, a proof of their antiquity. Ashdon church stands considerably more than a mile distant, and is not visible from the hills.

The diameter of the largest Barrow is 147 feet, and that of the three other principal Barrows is about 100 feet. The altitude of the largest is 93 feet, and of the one on each side of it 69 feet: the other principal hill, which has been lowered, is about 45 feet high.

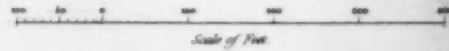
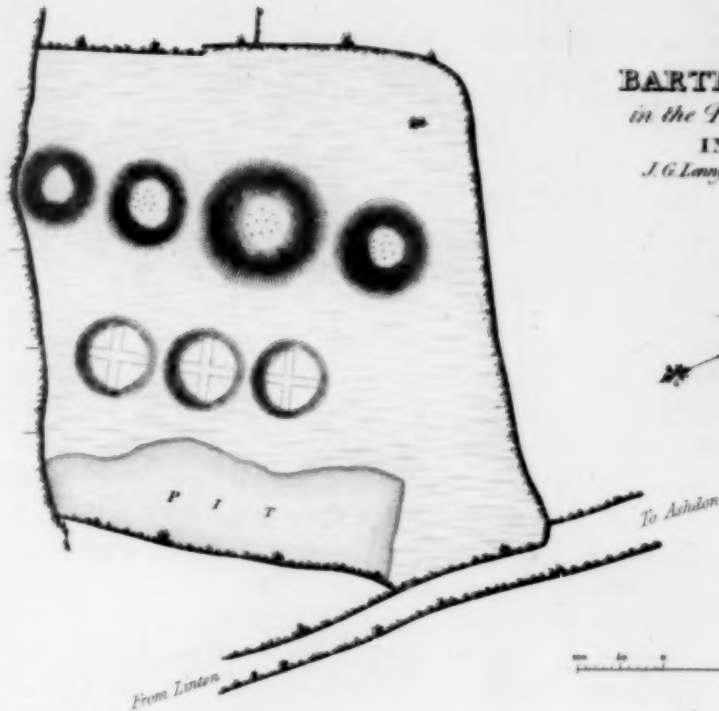
The diameter of the smaller Barrows is 95 feet, and as they are not more than from 8 to 10 feet high, the plough passes over them in the course of husbandry. The earth of these was thrown up from the brook side: the others were raised chiefly from the pit in front.

The highway leading from Linton to Ashdon passes at the distance of rather more than 80 yards from the smaller Barrows on the western side.

In a little meadow by the brook side, within 150 yards of the mounds to the northwest, are vestiges of an earthwork which seems to have remained hitherto unnoticed. The agger is 317 feet long, from east to west, the eastern end being cut through by a ditch which separates it from the Bartlow Rectory garden, in which direction there is the appearance of the mound being continued. The western end is broken by the highway before mentioned, and at an angle, here, the earthwork forms a little inclosure in the form of a parallelogram, 120 feet by 63, with two entrances. In this spot is a low mound 26 feet in diameter. There are also some appearances of another earth-work about 300 yards south-west of these mounds, at a place called Blackditch.

^a See a Disquisition by the Rev. Mr. Pegge on the Lows in the Peak of Derbyshire, *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 131.

A Plan
of the
BARTLOW HILLS.
in the Parish of Ashdon
IN ESSEX.
J. G. Lenny Surv^r Bury St^r Edm^d
1832.

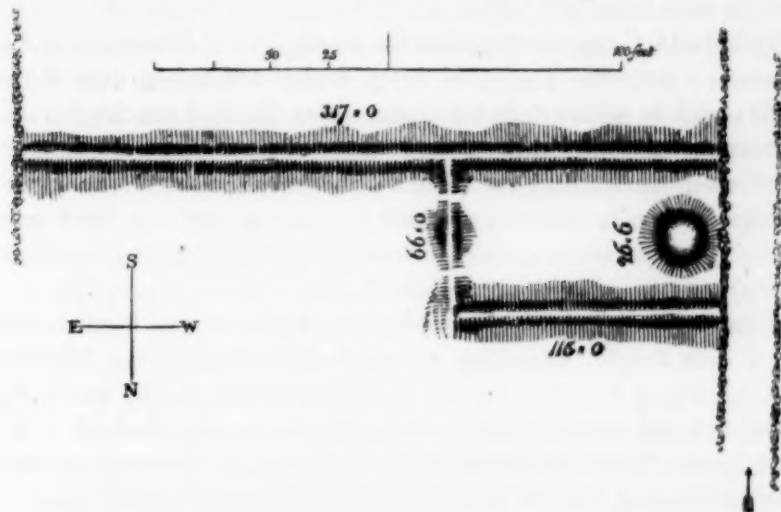


Perspective View of the Bartlow Hills (from the N.W.)

Diameter of the largest Hill. 147 Feet.
Diameter of the three other principal Hills (about) 100 Feet.
Diameter of the three small Barrows. 95 Feet.

J. G. Lenny del.

A plan of the first described earthwork is subjoined :



Camden speaks of Bartlow, under the name of Barklow, in Essex, in the following words:^b "On the edge of the county next to Cambridgeshire is Barklow, remarkable for four artificial hills, such as were anciently thrown up for soldiers slain in battle, whose remains, as some think, could not be found. But upon digging down a fifth and sixth, some time since, I am informed they found three stone coffins with broken human bones in them. The country people say they were cast up after a battle with the Danes, for the dwarf elder which grows plentifully hereabouts, with blood-coloured

^b Gough's Camden, vol. ii. p. 46. The following is the passage in the original: "Et quâ hæc regio Cantabrigienses spectat, Bartlow quatuor jam tumulis aggestis notum ostenditur, cujusmodi, occisis militibus, quorum reliquæ non faciles erant repertæ, ut aliqui volunt, extruxit antiquitas. Verum cum quintus et sextus ex his jampridem defoderentur, tria, ut accepimus, e saxo sepulchra, et in illis confracta hominum ossa sunt inventa. Aggestos vero post prælium ibi contra Danos commissum rustici ferunt. Ebulum enim quod sanguineis baccis hic circumquaque copiosè provenit, non alio nomine quam *Danes-bloud*, id est, *Danicum Sanguinem*, etiamnum appellant, ob multitudinem Danorum qui ibidem ceciderunt." This is from the author's edition of the *Britannia*, published in 1607, which varies from the first edition of 1590, where he speaks of three mounds remaining, and of one dug down.

berries, goes by the name of *Danes-blood*,^c in memory of the numbers of that nation slain here."

By Holinshed^d this spot is treated as the bloody field of *Æscendun* or *Assandun*, where Cnut, the Dane, in 1016, finally triumphed over Edmund Ironside; and he adds: "In this place, where the field was fought, are yet seen seven or eight hills wherein the carcasses of them that were slain at the same hills were buried, and one being digged down of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one lay with his head towards the other's feet, and manie chaines of iron (like to the water-chains of the bits of horses) were found in the same hills."

The battle just alluded to, in which the flower of the English nobility perished, was fought, according to some authorities, in the kingdom of Essex; according to others, on the confines of Mercia.^e The spot is doubtful: Camden and Gough^f place it at Assingdon, in the hundred of Rochford, in Essex; Blore,^g at Essendine, in Rutland; and Morant^h agrees with Holinshed in fixing it at the Bartlow Hills, in the parish of Ashdon.

Malmesbury, speaking of Cnut, says:ⁱ "*Loca omnia in quibus pugnaverant & præcipue Achendune ecclesiis insignivit; ministros instituit, qui per succidua seculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro animabus ibi occisorum. Ad consecrationem illius Basilicæ & ipse affuit, & optimates Anglorum & Danorum donaria porrexerunt. Nunc, ut fertur, modica est Ecclesia presbytero parochiano delegata.*" This passage occasioned Morant to remark, that Cnut's church "could not be the present church of Ashdon, because it stands too far from the field of battle; therefore it is with great reason supposed that it is Bartlow church which stands near the hills, *and hath a round steeple, being the Danish way of building.*"

^c Sambucus Ebulus, Dwarf Elder, called Dane's-wort.

^d Holinshed, Chron. vol. i. p. 176.

^e Encomium Emmæ, p. 16, Lond. 1783; Saxon Chronicle; Flor. Wigorn, p. 387, Lond. 1592; Historia Eliensis, p. 503; Malmsh. de gestis Reg. lib. ii. p. 40 b; Hist. Rames. 433; Matth. Westm. p. 204. Cnut had passed from Shepey into Essex, and through Essex into Mercia. On the advance of Edmund he retreated back the same way;—and that way would in all probability lead to Shobury, the favourite port and residence of the Danes. Not far from Shobury is Assingdon, which bears a great resemblance to Assandun, and this Camden considers to be the place of the battle.

^f Gough's Camden, vol. ii. pp. 42, 61.

^g History of the County of Rutland, p. 28.

^h Hist. of Essex, vol. ii. p. 539.

ⁱ De gestis Reg. lib. ii. c. xi.

When I some time since offered to you my observations on our ecclesiastical Round Towers,^k I controverted the absurd notion of ascribing round towers of churches to the Danes, and I laid before you a drawing of Bartlow church, shewing that it could have no connection with Cnut, since it is built in the Pointed style of Architecture. I ventured, at the same time, to express doubts whether the Bartlow Hills, themselves, were raised by the Danes, for different circumstances led me to think that the mounds were more probably British or Roman works. The recent discoveries go far to establish my opinion.

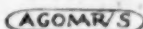
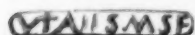
With the permission of Viscount Maynard, on whose estate these hills are situated, the line of smaller Barrows has been lately opened, and I beg to make the following report of the discoveries:

On the 2nd January, 1832, in the presence of Mr. Wright, of Waltons, Mr. Plowden, and others, aided by Lord Maynard's respectable tenant, Mr. Hustler, I opened the centre Barrow, No. I. A few bones presented themselves in the course of digging through the Barrow; small cavities or hollows were occasionally observable in the soil, taking horizontal directions; and as the work approached the bed of chalk, small pieces of decayed wood were taken out, and a layer of decomposed wood was seen. The workmen at length struck off the long neck of a glass vessel. On examining now the spot particularly, there appeared to have lain in the bed of chalk, at the depth of a foot and a half or thereabout, a wooden chest about four feet square. The chest itself was entirely pulverized, but the spike nails that had fastened it on all sides, and some of which are four inches and a half long, were seen lying in a square as they had fallen, and at the angles were the iron straps with portions of wood adhering to them.

In this space the following sepulchral relics were discovered: I. a thin, transparent glass vessel (*fig. 1, Plate II.*) resembling a Florentine flask, with a long narrow neck, and a ribband-fashioned handle, terminating in the manner of an eagle's talon. The glass is ten inches and three quarters high, and five inches and a half in diameter, and there are some stains of liquid upon it. II. A small, square, narrow-mouthed, glass vessel like a jar (*fig. 2, Plate II.*) six inches high, and full three inches square, nearly filled with some black and white substance, chiefly fatty matter. III. A coarse, yellowish, spherical

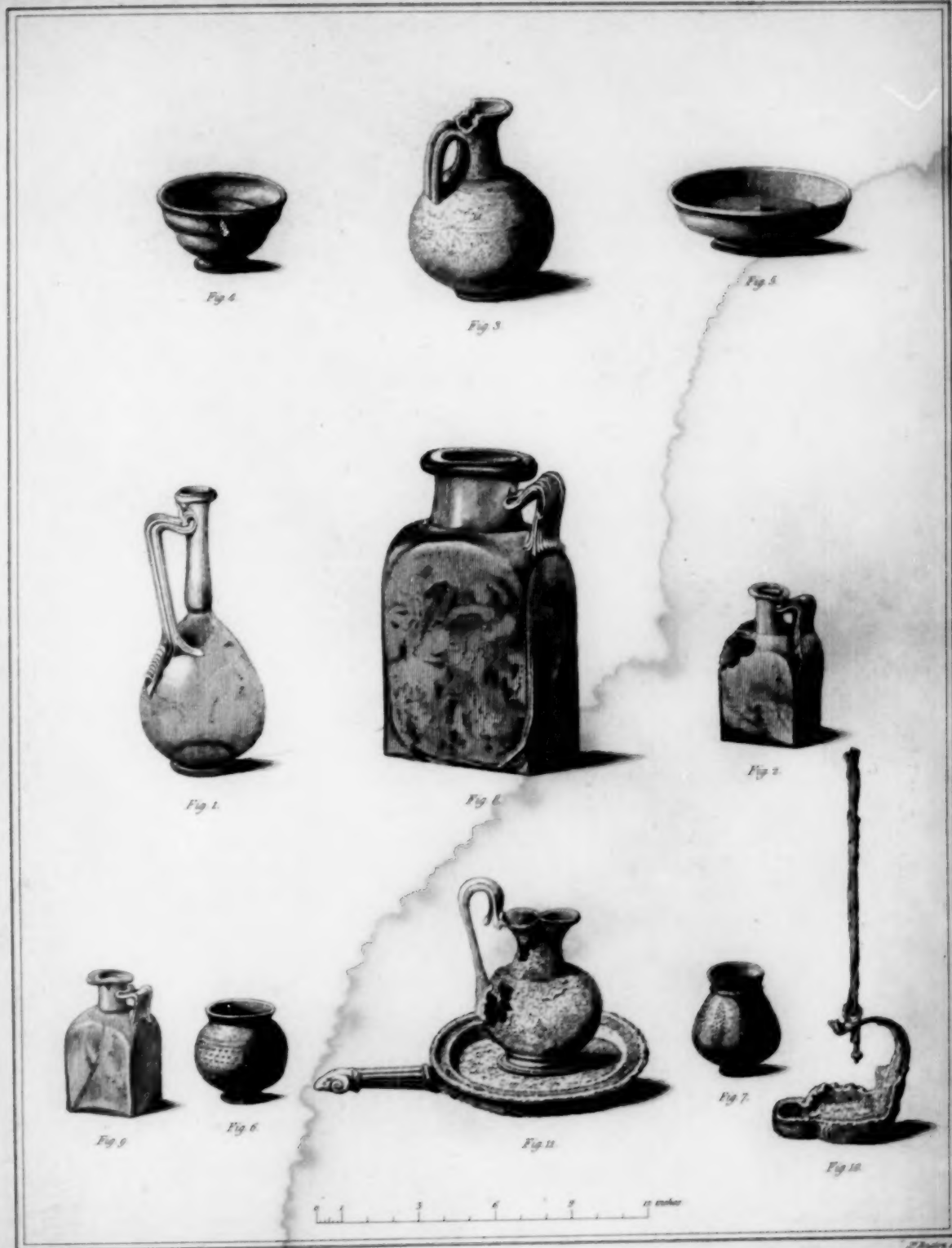
^k *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 10.

shaped, earthen vessel, of the pitcher kind, with a narrow neck and an ear (*fig. 3, Plate II.*) being seven inches high, and four and a half in diameter. IV. Eight vessels of red glazed earthen ware, of different sizes, in the form of cups and saucers (*see specimens, figs. 4, 5, Plate II.*): these are all stamped with the potter's marks, and of such of them as are distinguishable, fac-similes are here given.



These vessels were filled with the decomposed wood of the chest, and one of them is preserved in that state. V. Two small dark earthen-ware urns (*figs. 6, 7, Plate II.*) one measures three inches and a quarter high, by three and a half in diameter, the other three inches five eighths, by three inches and a quarter. VI. A little bronze lock, and one or two bits of iron with wood adhering to them, as if belonging to some small wooden coffer. VII. An iron lamp, with the wood of the chest adhering to the bottom of it: and lastly, VIII. A small deposit of burnt human bones, which were lying on the chalk surrounded by the things described: in the cavity of one of the bones is a twisted iron point.

On the 6th of January I opened the other two Barrows, Nos. II. and III. in the presence of Lord Braybrooke, Sir William Pringle, Lt.-Col. Drummond, Mr. Wright, the Rev. Messrs. Chapman, and Carr, Rectors of Ashdon, and Hadstock, and, among many others, of the Rev. John Bullen, Rector of Bartlow, whose friendly assistance it gives me pleasure to acknowledge. In Barrow No. II, was discovered a remarkable brick sepulchre, in the shape of an altar, six feet three inches long, two feet three inches and a half wide throughout, and one foot eleven inches and three quarters high, (*see the perspective view, fig. 1, and section, fig. 2, Plate III.*) It stands north and south on the bed of chalk, about a foot below the natural surface, and between seven and eight feet below the artificial soil. The basement consists of a single course of bricks raised on a floor of cement full two inches thick; each of the walls has seven courses of brick regularly laid, excepting that the top course of the side walls is set two inches within the rest, by which means the mouth is contracted to eight inches, and the interior was thus better secured from wet. The lid (*fig. 3, Plate III.*) is composed of two courses of brick of different sizes, the under joints being lapped; and the whole was covered with a thick



J. C. B. del.

J. B. sculp.



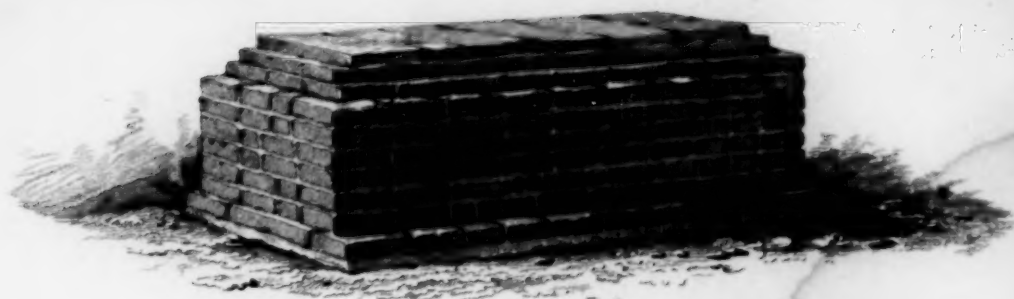


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 4.

coat of cement. The largest of the top bricks measures one foot five inches, by eleven and a half, and two inches thick, the side bricks are about two inches and a half thick. All the courses were laid in deep beds of cement, which was hard and dry.

On opening the mouth of the sepulchre (*fig. 4, Plate III.*) there was seen toward the southern end the following objects :

I. A large, thick, cylindrical, greenish coloured glass urn (*fig. 5, Plate III.*) eleven inches and a half high, and ten inches and a quarter in diameter, with a short reeded handle, springing from the neck ; along one side of the vase lay a thick incrustation of dark brown powder. The vessel was open at the mouth, and nearly two-thirds full of a clear pale yellow liquor, covering a deposit of burnt human bones ; on the top of the bones was seen lying a gold ring (*fig. 6, Plate III.*) which when taken out (the mouth of the vase being wide enough to admit of the introduction of a boy's hand for the purpose) was found to be a signet ring, having a cornelian intaglio, with the design of two ears of bearded corn. Afterward, when the contents of the vase came to be examined by Dr. Faraday, there was discovered a coin much corroded, adhering from rust firmly to one of the bones at the top. The coin is second brass, with the head of the Emperor Hadrian on the obverse, and on the reverse a figure seated, holding something nearly defaced in the right hand, and a cornucopia in the left, probably a Fortuna Redux.¹ II. A small, cylindrical, glass vase (*fig. 7, Plate III.*) of the same quality as the urn, measuring five inches and three quarters in height, and five inches and a quarter in diameter, with a short reeded handle, which touched the urn, so that upon this vase had fallen some of the same kind of dark brown incrustated powder seen on the side of the other. This was also open at the mouth, and had a small quantity of a darker coloured fluid in it. III. A small, thick, yellow, sparkling, glass cup, with a whitish coat adhering to it both inside and out : the lip of it was nearly dissolved, and the little handle, of a bluish tint, had fallen off and lay near. On touching the cup it fell to pieces ; as near as could be calculated it measured about three inches and a quarter high, and the same in diameter (*fig.*

¹ There are several coins of the Emperor Hadrian having on the reverse a Fortuna Redux, with a rudder in her right hand, and a cornucopia in her left. Hadrian visited Britain in the year 120, and some of his coins are inscribed Britannia.

8, *Plate III.*) IV. Fragments of fine platted basket-work in the shape of a little bottle, with a white coating inside. V. A wooden vessel, four inches and a half in height, and two inches in diameter, hooped round the middle, and also at the top and bottom, with bronze, and having a handle of the same material (*fig. 9, Plate III.*); the wooden ribs are in extraordinary preservation; much of the bronze had fallen to pieces, and lay near; the rest gave way on the vessel being moved. VI. Some very fine earth, so dry as to be capable of being sifted, lay at the northern end of the sepulchre, and at the southern end was also a little earth of the same quality, mixed with the decomposed wood of a small coffer, and the lock and iron straps that had belonged to it.

The third Barrow exhibited appearances of decomposed wood, as the workmen approached the chalk, much the same as in the first Barrow opened; but there were not any nails, nor iron straps for a chest. The following sepulchral remains were discovered: I. A large, thick, square, wide mouthed, greenish coloured, glass urn of the jar form (*fig. 8, Plate II.*) with a reeded handle: it measures twelve inches high, and six inches square, and is full of burnt human bones. II. Two small, square, narrow mouthed, greenish coloured, glass vessels with reeded handles (*see an example of one of them, fig. 9, Plate II.*): they were empty, and very similar to, but rather smaller than the glass vessel with fatty matter found in the first Barrow. III. An iron lamp (*fig. 10, Plate II.*) of the same description as that found in the first Barrow, but more perfect; the long handle fastened by a ring, from which the lamp was suspended, being unbroken. IV. An elegant bronze vase, five inches and a half high, and four inches and three quarters in diameter, with an elevated handle, and standing on a vessel or dish of bronze. The dish, seven inches and a half in diameter and one and a half in depth, is round, with circles within, the centre of it being convex, and has a solid, straight, fluted handle, four inches and three quarters long, that terminates in a ram's head: the handle had been soldered to the vessel, and lay detached by the side of it (*fig. 11, Plate II.*). V. Some fragments of a little dark earthenware urn, and also some bits of iron, including a small strap supposed to have belonged to a wooden coffer;—such were the contents of the line of smaller Barrows.

Cæsar informs us that it was the custom of the Gauls^m to burn their dead, which had become a common practice of the Romans, in imitation of the Greeks, toward the end of the Republic,ⁿ and was almost universal under the Emperors;^o and certainly the sepulchral mound and the funeral urn, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, were common both to the Romans and the British Belgæ; whence it is not always easy, even on the opening of some of our Barrows, to distinguish the sepulchres of the two nations. We are relieved from difficulty in the present instance, as the contents, just detailed, of the Barrows opened by me, leave no doubt of their pure Roman origin.

Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens

Aggeritur tumulo tellus.

ÆNEID, lib. iii. v. 62.

In character the three sepulchres so nearly resemble each other that they may safely be ascribed to the same age. Two were constructed of wood, and one of brick, laid respectively on the bed of chalk. Each contained human bones burnt, which in the brick tomb and one of the wooden sepulchres, were deposited in glass urns: all the cinerary deposits were laid to the south, accompanied by sacrificial or funeral vessels; each tomb had some glass vessel, the quality and manufacture of which were decidedly the same in all three, and the iron lamps found in the two wooden sepulchres were also precisely alike.

When a body was burnt and buried in the same place, it was called *Bustum*, whence the word was often used to signify the Tomb, and Cicero speaks of the *Bustum*^p Basili, and the Catuli *Bustum*: it would seem, therefore, that *Bustum* is a proper name for the sepulchres we have opened:

—desertaque busta

Incolit, et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbris,

Grata Deis Erebi.

LUCAN, lib. vi. v. 511.

In 1779^q the Rev. James Douglas opened a tumulus on Chatham Lines, which contained a skeleton and various objects, including different coins of the Lower Empire. "A dark-coloured earth," says the discoverer, "which

^m Cæsar, lib. vi.

ⁿ Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. Plin. vii. 54.

^p Epist. ad Attic. lib. vii.

^o Tacit. Annal. xvii. 9.

^q Nenia Britannica, tumulus II.

sheeted the body, and which, on the sides of the grave, in a section through it, discovered some appearance of a decayed substance ; and the breadth of it, gave me reason to suppose the body had been inclosed in wood." In 1784 and 1789^r various sepulchral urns, leaden and stone sarcophagi, Roman coins and utensils, were discovered at Kingsholme, near Gloucester ; and the Rev. Thomas Mutlow, describing one of the leaden sarcophagi, says that the labourer who made the discovery "is certain that there was a coffin of wood in which the leaden one had been inclosed, as the nails supposed to have fastened it lay in a regular position round the place where the leaden one was found." In 1801^s the Rev. Peter Rashleigh discovered at Southfleet, in Kent, upon a spot where many Roman antiquities were subsequently found, a stone sarcophagus, having a lid with an iron ring, and containing two skeletons wrapped in lead, which he concludes had been inclosed in wood, from several large spike nails with flat heads having been found among the dust in the tomb.

To these examples, which are presumed to be Roman, of the use by that people of wooden chests for inclosing the funeral deposits, are to be added those at Bartlow ; and I suspect, from the frequent appearance of decomposed wood in barrows, that it was not unusual to inclose the urn, or the ashes themselves, in wood ; and in confirmation of this may be cited Seneca,^t who speaks of the use of wooden sepulchral urns.

The brick Roman sepulchre is often found in the Campagna di Roma, and it is sometimes met with in this country, of which that discovered at York in 1768, described in the second volume of our Transactions, and where coins of Domitian and Vespasian were found, may be cited as an example. I know of none the form of which is so elegant as that discovered at Bartlow.

The Bustum of stone, as well as the Roman stone Sarcophagus, in which was deposited the body unburnt, is not uncommon in England, and some specimens of the stone Bustum will be noticed hereafter.

When Camden relates, on hearsay, that stone coffins with broken human

^r *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 376-379 ; vol. x. p. 132.

^s *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 37.

^t *Vasa etiam multa aurea erant et argentea ; majore autem numero, ærea, figlina, lignea, atque vitrea. Seneca.*

bones had been discovered in levelling two of the Bartlow Hills, I am induced to think that these were Roman sepulchres. The Rector of Ashdon has in his garden a small stone trough, in the form of a parallelogram, which came from the village blacksmith's, and which, according to tradition, was dug out of the Bartlow Hills; it is just such a trough in size and form as is occasionally met with, containing Ossoria, or vessels, sometimes of earth, often of glass, with burnt human bones.

The Romans made great use of glass for domestic as well as sepulchral purposes; and the Royal Museum at Naples contains a large collection of glass vessels of every kind and form, from Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the vicinity. In the sixth volume of the Real Museo Borbonico drawings are given of two glass urns, covered, both described as containing burnt human bones floating in liquid mixed with aromatics. The Vatican, among other foreign collections, possesses different examples of Roman glass; and in the Royal Museum at Munich is sepulchral glass found at Ratisbon and Salzburch, consisting of urns of a pale green colour full of bones, and some lying in stone troughs or receptacles. Sir William Hamilton found a large glass sepulchral urn at Puzzuolo, and in 1767 another smaller urn, near Cuma, which was full of ashes, and stood in a leaden coffer. These are now in the British Museum, where the collection of Roman glass is small, though more valuable than all other collections since it possesses the Portland vase. That celebrated urn, from the Barbarini Palace, was found with ashes in it, in the tomb of Alexander Severus, and exhibits a perfection of art in glass, such as we have never equalled.

In this country, beads, armillæ, lacrymatories, vases, cinerary urns, and other relics of glass, are occasionally found in all parts. According to Strabo, glass was one of the commodities introduced into Britain from Tyre: some have questioned whether the Romans brought hither with them the art of manufacturing glass; but when we reflect upon the long and flourishing settlement of the Romans in Britain, it seems hardly possible to doubt that this, among the other arts of Rome, must have been communicated by her to this favourite province of the Empire. I will content myself with selecting two or three remarkable examples of discoveries in this country of sepulchral glass, as illustrations to our purpose.

On the opening of a barrow at Winston in Derbyshire in 1768,^u two glass vessels were found, between eight and ten inches high, with wide circular mouths, each containing about a pint of liquid of a light greenish colour, exceedingly limpid. Beads of glass were found with the vessels, and ornaments of silver and gold, and some small remains of brass clasps and hinges with pieces of wood, as of a little box in which the ornaments seem to have been deposited. In 1801^x Mr. Walford communicated to the Society a Survey of a Roman way passing through Ridgwell, Birdbrook, and Sturmere in Essex, and Haverhill and Withersfield in Suffolk, accompanied with a description of various discoveries of Roman antiquities made along that way in different places. In a meadow near the brook by Meldham Bridge, adjoining Haverhill, Mr. Walford mentions that many bones and a variety of urns were found in 1757 or 1758, one in particular of pale bluish green glass, hermetically sealed, sufficiently large to contain two gallons. When found, the urn was three parts full of small pieces of burnt bones, upon which was placed a lacrymatory. At the same place were also discovered vessels of earthenware, among which, was a cup of red pottery, with the potter's mark VITAL. It must be observed that the spot where these sepulchral remains were found, is about five miles from the Bartlow Hills, and that the glass urn and cup last mentioned have their counterparts^y among the relics discovered at Bartlow, with the same potter's mark on the earthenware. In 1802^z Mr. Rashleigh discovered at Southfleet, near the Sarcophagus of which mention has been made, various Roman antiquities, and, among others, another Sarcophagus, divided into two parts, fitting in a groove: within were two large glass urns, containing each a considerable quantity of burnt human bones. Both the urns were open at the top; one of them, containing bones which occupied about one third of it, was filled to the brim with a transparent liquor, without taste or smell. The other urn was about two-thirds full of bones, and had some of the same liquor. Between the two urns were the remains of two

^u *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 274.

^y See Plate V. *ibid.*

^x *Ibid.* vol. xiv. p. 74.

^z *Ibid.* p. 221.

pair of splendid shoes. A large square glass urn with burnt human bones was found in 1795 at Lincoln, precisely similar to the Ossorium found in our third barrow.*

Mr. Clift, the intelligent Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, on a careful examination of the bones recently discovered at Bartlow, is of opinion, that those deposited with the liquid in the glass urn found in the brick bustum, are of an adult, but whether male or female it is difficult to pronounce; that the bones in the other glass urn are of a male, older, and more robust than the first subject; and in respect to the bone, the cavity of which contains an iron point, he is doubtful whether it may not be ivory, and the handle of an instrument. At the same time he remarked that, among the bones, there was more than one specimen unquestionably human, which had acquired something of the same appearance as the bone just noticed.

With great good feeling and alacrity, Dr. Faraday, of the Royal Institution, undertook to analyse the liquid, and to give his opinion on that and other things which he allowed me to submit to him, and I have much pleasure in subjoining his report:

“ Royal Institution, February 11, 1832.

“ The large glass vase or bottle, being cylindrical in the body, about ten inches in diameter, and eight inches high, would contain nearly two gallons and a half. It was about two-fifths full of liquor and burnt bones; the latter being well covered with the fluid. Some pieces of the bones had drops of fused light-coloured glass adhering to them. The bones were burnt so much as to be most of them white on the exterior; but some were still black and carbonaceous on the outside, and many were so within.

“ The pieces of glass adhering and fused to the bones, were light coloured and nearly white externally. They were not the consequence of fusion of the bones with the ashes of the wood, but were like the material of the bottles, and have resulted from glass, which, either in the form of vessels or otherwise, has been added, or rather subjected to the fire.

“ With respect to the cupreous coin found in the vase upon the top of

* Ibid. vol. x. p. 345; vol. xii. p. 108.

the bones, and adhering to one of the pieces, and also in reply to your question, whether I think it has the appearance of having been heated? I must state, though with great deference, that I do not think it has. All the carbonate and oxide of copper which incrusts it, may have been easily formed by the joint action of time, water, and air; and if it had been subjected to the same heat as that which the bones accompanying it have borne, I think it would have been melted, or at least oxydized so violently and suddenly upon the surface, as to have taken away from the distinctness of the impression more than it seems to have lost. From its position also, it seemed to have been the last thing put into the bottle, and its adhesion to the bone was just that which the gradual formation of oxide would occasion.

"The liquor in this vessel was of a clear pale brown colour. It was a very weak aqueous solution, containing a little carbonated soda and traces of sulphate and muriate of soda; it contained no earthy salts. One fluid ounce left 4.2 grains of a pale brownish substance, which when heated, blackened and yielded a little ammonia, but did not flame or burn visibly.

"I cannot tell when the water which has formed this weak solution entered the open vase; whether it was put in at the time of the interment, or whether it has gradually entered, either by dropping in, or by differences of temperature causing a species of distillation into the vessel after it was inclosed in the vault and surrounded with earth. I can easily conceive that any of these cases may have happened.

"The deposit upon the side of the large vase, and also of its neighbour, was a dry flea-brown powder, containing a few white specks. It was combustible with a very feeble flame, burning like ill-made tinder or charred matter. It left a little pale light ash, containing carbonated alkali, carbonate of lime, and a little insoluble earth. This substance gave no trace of ammonia by heat. It is probably the result left upon the decay of organic matter, but of what nature or in what situation that may have been I cannot say.

"The liquor from the smallest vase did not amount to more than one-sixth of an ounce, and was very dirty, i. e. it contained black insoluble matter, which when separated by a filter, was partly combustible and partly earthy, but I could make nothing of it. The filtered liquor was aqueous,

clear, almost colourless, not alkaline; it contained in solution, sulphate of lime and sulphate and muriate of a fixed alkali.

"Let me now proceed to the square narrow-mouthed bottle. It had evidently been blown in a mould. It might hold about a pint and a half. Its mouth was so narrow as but just to admit the little finger; and yet it was three-fourths filled with a solid substance, which, though generally moulded to the form of the bottle, was not compact, but lying loosely in portions with intervening spaces or clefts; some parts were light in colour, others discoloured, and others black.

"Being removed from the bottle it weighed about five ounces and a half. When a compact piece which had lain uppermost was broken, it presented a sharp fracture, yellowish and semi-transparent in the middle, whiter and more opaque nearer to the external part, and dark brown or black at the exterior: it was of a fatty nature and could be cut with the nail. Other portions towards the bottom of the bottle were soft, pale, yellow, and discoloured by brown matter; these also were fatty.

"The darkest portions were in comparatively small quantity, but they also were fatty to the touch.

"When the pale substance was heated, it fused at temperature lower than 212° F. and on cooling solidified, becoming at the same time imperfectly crystallized. When heated with water it melted and floated on the water, but did not dissolve in it. It dissolved instantly upon the addition of a little alkali, forming a soap. It dissolved also freely in hot alcohol, a bulky crystalline mass being produced as the solution cooled. It dissolved less freely in cold alcohol. It burnt with a bright white smoky flame like fat, and had indeed all the characters of saponified fat, or the margaric or stearic acid.

"The brown parts also burnt with bright flame like fat, leaving a very little ash. When digested in alcohol, that fluid dissolved out a very great proportion of a nearly colourless fatty matter, like that described above, and left a few dark brown flocculi heavier than water. These being collected, burnt on platina foil somewhat in the manner of tinder, and not with flame; on examining a portion by heat in a tube, upon the supposition of

its being the residue of albuminous or gelatinous matter, no trace of ammonia could be obtained from it.

"Hence, the whole of the contents of this bottle may be resolved into nearly colourless fatty matter, *i. e.* margaric or stearic acid, and black films or flocculi. The substance cannot be the residue left by the decomposition of any ordinary fluid, such as blood, or milk, &c. &c. but has probably, when introduced, been fat poured in in the melted state. It may have been converted into fatty acid by heat before its introduction; or time may have effected that change in it since. From the form of the portions and their state in the bottle, I think it not improbable that there may have been a little aqueous fluid, such as milk, blood, or some other decomposable substance in the bottle, before the fat was introduced and which by its intervention has caused the separation into portions; and by its decay has left the black patches of matter: or else, that some decomposable substance has been introduced with the fat. Is it at all likely that any of the viscera or other parts of the body, have been introduced, and the fat poured in with, or upon them? The decay of such parts would account for the cavernous form of the fat and the black carbonaceous matter.

"You gave me a piece of glass, which was peculiar from its not having the greenish colour of the larger vases (which resemble in that respect some of our crown glass) but being rather pale yellow; and also earthy and white on the outside. The glass handle which you showed me as accompanying the present specimen, was coloured blue, and, judging from appearance only, I think with cobalt. The piece of glass which I took (pale yellow) I found not to differ essentially from that of the large vases except in original purity of material. It was much freer from iron, but it contained only alkali, lime, silica, &c. &c. and no lead. The outside has been much altered by air, and probably water, and hence its white and earthy appearance.

"The fragments of metal which I took from the handle of the tub, from the dish, and the vase, were all of them bronze, *i. e.* a combination of copper with tin.

"Nothing now remains for me to refer to but the fragments of a neatly platted basket, or other such article. On the interior part of this fragment is an incrustation, about one-twelfth of an inch thick, loose and crumbling,

generally brown on the exterior, but white within when broken up. This substance is an odoriferous gum resin. When heated, it evolves a fine aroma, somewhat resembling that of myrrh or frankincense; and at a higher temperature it burns with a white smoky flame. Boiled in alcohol part dissolves, and the solution is precipitated by water; or boiled in water part dissolves, and the solution is precipitated by alcohol.

"The incrustation appears, upon close examination, as if it consisted of numerous small white masses, separated from each other by brownish matter. It may have been applied to the interior of the basket in the state of a paste, but there is little to indicate what has really been the process. The vegetable platted fibres of the basket, when separated from this incrustation, yield no aroma by heat, they burn with a pale flame, and have the marks of old vegetable matter of ordinary character which has been well preserved.

(signed) M. FARADAY."

Thus far Dr. Faraday.—The pieces of glass noticed by him as adhering from fusion to some of the bones, and the liquid covering them in the urn, could not fail recalling to recollection these lines of the poet's description of the funeral pile of Misenus.

——— Congesta cremantur

Thurea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit;
Reliquias vino et bibulam lavère favillam;
Ossaue lecta cado texit Chorinæus aheno.

ÆNEID, lib. vi. v. 224.

I was led to think that this liquid might be wine, or perhaps lustral water, as the dry state of the bustum, and the difficulty for water to get into it, make it likely that the liquid was poured into the urn at the time the bones were deposited there.

The same poetical description also seemed to account for the dark brown incrustated powder lying along one side of the urn, and which had sprinkled the other glass vessel and also the ground near it.

——— Cui frondibus atris

Intexunt latera et ferales ante cupressos
Constituunt.

ÆNEID, lib. vi. v. 215.

A branch of yew or other dark vegetable substance might have been the origin of the incrustation. It is proper to remark, that Mr. Almack in his notice ^b of the discovery at Melford, in Suffolk, of Roman antiquities, consisting of a large glass sepulchral urn, pateræ, and other objects, mentions a substance like lamp-black that lay about the pateræ.

Milk, wine, and blood, were the chief offerings at the funeral sacrifices, *Inferiæ*.

Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,
Sanguinis et sacri pateras; animamque sepulchro
Coudimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.

ÆNEID, lib. iii. v. 66.

The vessels for libation used at the pile, appear to have been often deposited in the tomb with the urn, and they sometimes added such munera or oblations as were thought to be most agreeable to the manes of the deceased. Thence comes that variety of things found in the Roman Sepulchres:

Sit satis, O superi, quod non Cornelia fuso
Crine jacet, subicique facem complexa maritum
Imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti
Infelix conjux.—

LUCAN, lib. viii. v. 739.

At Avisford Hill, near Arundel, was discovered a Roman sarcophagus, described by Mr. Dallaway in his *History of Sussex*,^c containing a large glass sepulchral urn with bones, round which were placed more than thirty different vessels and other things.

A few remarks may be bestowed on some of the most interesting objects found with the urns in the Bartlow sepulchres.

The simpula and pateræ, or vessels in the form of cups and saucers, found in the first Barrow, and which were used for the libations, or to receive the

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 395. The sepulchral urn is preserved in the British Museum and is very similar to that found in the brick bustum at Bartlow. Mr. Almack, in a letter addressed to the writer of the text, mentions that there was a black liquid with the bones in the glass vessel; also, that some pieces of iron, like nails, were lying with it; and that near the spot coins were found of Hadrian and Vespasian.

^c Vol. ii. p. 367, and new edit. 1832, p. 80, where a section of the tomb is shown.

blood of the victims, are of red earthen ware, in imitation of the Samian^d ware prescribed for the service of the Roman sacrifices,

— *Ad rem divinam, quibus est opus, Samiis vasis utitur.*

PLAUTUS, *Capt.* act. ii. 41.

There is this difference between the red pottery and the Samian ware, that the one is glazed and the other uniformly unglazed; for the fine material of the latter, like the French porcelain, did not require glazing. The red ware is formed of native clay, washed, and glazed with salt and a small proportion of lead: it has been shaped by the hand, with the common instrument much like a knife, and after being exposed to the sun, has been slightly baked. The coarse little brown urns described, with a blue or frosty appearance, have also undergone the fire. Examples of potters' marks may be seen^e in the fifth and sixth volumes of our Transactions, and to these Mr. Kempe has made a large addition in his recent description of the Roman antiquities discovered on the site of St. Michael's church, Crooked Lane. Two marks in Mr. Kempe's collection occur in the earthenware found at Bartlow.

In the library of Clare Hall, Cambridge, is preserved a collection of sepulchral vessels found about the year 1822 in a Roman cemetery at Lillington, in Hertfordshire; among them are two glass vessels with long necks, and straight handles, reeded, that terminate with a human head. From the deposit in these vessels they are supposed to have contained an oleaginous substance.^f They are of the same character, though not precisely of the same form, as the glass flask found in our first Barrow, which I think contained milk. At Rouen^g a vase was discovered in 1828, which had some glutinous appearance upon it, conjectured to have been produced by milk.

In 1730,^h among other sepulchral relics found in a barrow on Chatham Downs, was a small glass vessel of a yellowish green colour, the quality of which seems to be the same as that of the little sparkling cup found in the brick bustum.

^d On Samian Ware, see Montfaucon *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, tom. v. p. 137. *Archæologia*, vol. v. 287.

^e *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 290; vol. vi. p. 124.

^f *Cambridge Chron.*

^g *Mémoire sur des tombeaux Gallo-Romains*, par E. H. Langlois. Rouen, 1829.

^h *Nenia Brit.* pl. 5. tum. v.

In 1767,ⁱ in a barrow at Stowborough, in Dorsetshire, was found a decayed oaken cup; and in 1771,^k at Ash, in Kent, a wooden vessel in the shape of a pail, eight inches in diameter, and seven inches and a half in height, with hoops and a handle of iron and brass. I mention these as illustrations of the wooden vessel found in the brick bustum.

Perfumes, *odores*, were used in the funeral rites, and deposited with the dead, and the incense cup is often found in sepulchres. The little basket, fragments of which were found in the brick bustum, seems to have contained some fragrant unguent.

Non pretiosa petit cumulado thure sepulchra
Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus; non pinguis ad astra
Ut ferat e membris Eoos fumus odores.

LUCAN, lib. viii. v. 729.

It is recorded on the tomb of Lælius,^l at Rhodes, that his mother,

EVM • LACHRIMIS • ET • OPOBAL

SAMO • VDVM

HOC • SEPVLCHRO • CONDIDIT.

The bronze vase, from the third Barrow opened, is not the least interesting object among the relics found. This form of sacrificing vessel, from which the wine, or other liquor, was poured, is often seen with other sacred instruments on reverses of Roman Imperial coins, inscribed *PIETAS AUGUSTI*, and also on bas-reliefs of sacred rites, and is considered by antiquaries to be the *præfericulum* of Festus.^m Whether it was borne on the bronze patera upon which it was found standing, as represented in Plate II., may be doubted, since the bottom of the vase is not concave enough for the convexity of the centre of the patera; beside, I do not observe in the ancient bas-reliefs any example where the one is borne on the other. On a bas

ⁱ Hutchins's History of Dorset, vol. i. p. 26, edit. 1774.

^k Nenia Brit. pl. 12, tum. xv.

^l Thes. Rom. Antiq. Grævius, 1248.

^m Il n'y a aucun doute que ce beau vase que nous voyons sur un grand nombre de monumens, ne soit tout autre que le *præfericulum* de Festus. Montfaucon l'Antiquité Expliquée, vol. ii. p. 140. Plates lvi. lxxi. lxxxiii. See Sexti Pomp. Festi Verb. sig. lib. xiv.

relief in the Berlin collection,^a a female attendant upon a priestess is represented with the *præfericulum* in one hand, and the *patera*, similar in form to our examples, in the other, holding each by the handle. It must, however, be mentioned, that a bronze vase and *patera* of the same description as those found by me, were discovered in 1800^o at Topesfield, in Essex, the *patera* having a boss in the centre, and the bottom of the vase being hollowed as if to receive the boss. Among the examples of bronze *pateræ* with long handles, one from Pompeii, figured ^p in the Museo Borbonico, exactly corresponds in shape and design to the example found at Bartlow, with the exception that, instead of a ram's head, the handle terminates with a human head.

In a fresco painting^q from Herculaneum a slave is represented carrying a lamp similar to those found in the Bartlow Barrows, with a long handle suspended by a ring, a form not unusual at this day in Italy.

With respect to little wooden coffers, of which remains were found in all the barrows, they are not unusual in Roman sepulchres. One instance I have mentioned in speaking of Winston Barrow; coffers of the same kind were also found on Barham Downs,^r Avisford Hill,^s and Southfleet.^t

^a Mr. Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*, pl. xxvii.

^o See plates iv. and v. *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 24, accompanying an account by Mr. Walford of the antiquities discovered at Topesfield. The handle of the *patera* is there represented, as it was found, detached from the *patera*; and when Mr. Walford wrote his account, he imagined that the handle belonged to some other vessel. These antiquities remain in Mr. Walford's possession, and are now at Birdbrook, in Essex; and, by way of supplement to his valuable paper, I subjoin an extract of a letter, dated 14th June, 1832, from a friend who, at my desire, lately examined them:

"Mr. Walford's *præfericulum* is about six or seven inches high, similar in form to the Bartlow one, but not at all ornamented, and I think not quite so elegant. The dish may be six or seven inches in diameter, and the boss was undoubtedly to support the vase, as Mr. Walford found, before he had something put into the foot of the *præfericulum*, to solder it, as it had been injured. The handle unquestionably belonged to the dish (as you suppose), and as he found after his account was written; and it is now attached to it and rivetted on, the parts fitting exactly. What you consider a lion's head in his plate is not meant for one, but for that of some great dog, a wolf dog, *Canis Mollossus*, perhaps: it is well executed. The dish is plain as well as the vase, the handle about four or five inches long."

^p Vol. iii. tav. xv.

^q *Antichità di Ercolano*, vol. viii. pl. 6.

^r *Nen. Brit. tum.* xiv.

^s *Hist. of Sussex*, vol. ii. p. 367.

^t *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 222.

The ring, *annulus signatorius*, found in the urn, is too small for the finger even of a female, and it bears evident marks of having been attached to some chain or other ornament. Among the Ægyptian remains in the British Museum is a painting with many figures, each carrying two ears of bearded corn, the device on the ring; and the same is common on Roman gems and coins.

The care bestowed upon the dead, and the absence of all warlike instruments in the Bartlow sepulchres opened, indicate that these barrows were not raised on the occasion of a battle. This is certainly the cemetery of a Roman settlement, and the coin of the Emperor Hadrian dropped into the urn may fairly be presumed to fix the age of that sepulchre. The earthworks before described seem to be vestiges of the station. With the permission of Mrs. Dayrell, of Camps, I made excavations in more than one part of the principal agger, and I also opened the low Barrow connected with it, but did not make any discoveries deserving notice.

The Rev. John Bullen has in his possession a coin second brass of the Emperor Hadrian, found at Bartlow in the Rectory garden, in the line of the principal agger. Obv. HADRIANVS . AVG . COS . III . P . P. Bust Laureate. Rev. FELICI . . AVG . below s . c . The Emperor holding in his left hand a scroll, the Empress holding in hers a caduceus, standing, with their right hands joined.

Frequently Roman coins are picked up on the spot, and brasses of Faustina, Vespasian, Constantine, and Theodosia were shown to me, said to have been found here. On the south-east side of the greater Barrows, broken pottery and bones of animals were lately discovered in a hollow through which a horse's foot had penetrated.

The Roman way leading from Colchester to Grantchester passes within two miles from Bartlow, below Horseheath mill, in a straight line over the Gogmagog Hills, and is crossed by the high road from Bartlow to Newmarket. Another Roman way communicates with the former below Haverhill Castle, supposed to come from Chesterford by Bartlow, leaving Camps to the right.^u

^u Mr. Leman's MSS. Roman Roads, in the Library of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. Mr. Walford's Survey of part of the military way leading through Haverhill. *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 62.

The greater Barrows, of such imposing magnitude and form, still remain to be explored ; and I am not without expectation that Viscount Maynard, to whom we are obliged for the exhibition of the Roman relics recently discovered, will on some future occasion make excavations which possibly may throw more light on this interesting place.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN GAGE.

Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P.

II. *Observations on certain ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-Stones. By the late WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c.*

Read 2nd February, 1832.

. It will probably be in the recollection of many of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries that our late worthy Member, William Hamper, Esq. of Birmingham, in the year 1820, published a Tract, entitled, "Observations on certain Ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-stones." These pillars, or massive blocks of stone, scattered through England, with a few instances in Wales and Scotland, having received no satisfactory elucidation, Mr. Hamper, in his Treatise, gave: 1st. The notions of different writers concerning them; 2nd. An exposition of their name, in which he shewed the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; and, 3rd. A list of places where they occur, or which it was believed had been denominated from them.

From the time of the publication of this work till Mr. Hamper's death, he continued to add to its contents; and had prepared the manuscript for a second and enlarged edition. This manuscript has been forwarded by his executor to the Society of Antiquaries, with the intention of offering it for insertion in the *Archæologia*: on account, first, that it contains a very large mass of new information upon the subject of the pillars of memorial; and secondly, because, as the representatives of Mr. Hamper relinquish every thought of publishing a new edition themselves, this improved work, unless inserted in some Collection of Tracts, such as the *Archæologia* is, would probably hereafter be lost to the world. The Council of the Society have, in consequence, determined that it shall form one of the *Memoirs* of the present Volume.

INTRODUCTION.

"Between Penmiarth house and the river Usk is a *Maen-hir*, but of the purpose or the occasion for which this was placed, we know no more than we do of any other of these stumbling blocks to the antiquary."—Jones's *Breconshire*, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 502.

"What signifies that knowledge, say some, which brings no real advantage to mankind, and what is it to any one whether the Roman walls passed this way or that, or whether such a Roman inscription is to be read this way or another?—To this I would answer: there is that beauty and agreeableness in truth, even supposing it to be merely speculative, as always affords on the discovery of it real pleasure to a well-turned mind: and I will add, that it not only pleases, but enriches and cultivates it too."—Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, Pref. p. ii.

IN many parts of Great Britain are to be seen certain upright rude Pillars, or massive blocks of Stone, which in England are called HOAR-STONES, or by a name of nearly the same sound, with all the gradations of dialectical variety. Their appellation in Scotland is the HARE-STANE; and amongst our Cambrian neighbours they are known as the MAEN-GWYR, and MAEN-HIR, the first syllable signifying a Stone, in the plural MEINI-HIRION. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his *Ancient History of North-Wiltshire*, p. 113, observes that they are also found in Ireland.

So remote is their antiquity, that all tradition of the purpose for which they were set up has ceased, and their name has lost its distinctness; whilst the contrariety of opinion expressed by those writers who have incidentally noticed the subject, has raised an additional mist of obscurity around it.

The following attempt at its elucidation will be divided into three sections:

The first to contain the notions of different authors concerning Hoar-Stones;

The second, an exposition of the name, whereby will be shewn the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; and

The third, a list of places where they occur, or which have been named from them.

SECTION I.

The notions of different authors concerning Hoar-Stones.

SOMNER.

The Anglo-Saxon words "*on thane haren stan*," in a charter relative to the monastery of Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, are rendered "*in lapidem mucidum*;" under the idea of *haren* meaning *hoary*. *Monasticon* Angl. i. p. 989.

GOUGH.

The boundaries of Codeston, now Cutsdean, co. Worcester, are described in the Anglo-Saxon of Heming's Cartulary, p. 348, as coming "*on thæne haran stan*, of thane haran stan and lang grenan weyes;" which is translated in Nash's Worcestershire, ii. App. p. xlv. "on to *the grey stone*, from the grey stone along the green way."

Mr. Nichols informed the writer that the translations from Heming, in the abovenamed history, were by the editor of Camden.

HUTTON.

This author, speaking of a Roman station at Birmingham, says, he can find no vestiges remaining, though "the most likely place is *Wor-ston*," which he interprets "*Wall-stone*;" part of the Ikeneld Street being called Warstone Lane in passing through that neighbourhood. *History of Birmingham*, third ed. p. 221.

NICHOLS.

In Humberston field, co. Leicester, the apex of a rock rising considerably above the ground, is called *Holstone*, which Mr. Nichols conjectures to be a corruption of *Holy-stone*; adding, that in Dorsetshire and the other western counties these Holy Stones are very frequent, and "by the common people sometimes called *Hell-stones*, a name deducible either from *helian*, to cover or conceal, or rather from *heilig*, holy." *History of Leicestershire*, iii. part ii. p. 981, note 2.

DUDLEY.

The Rev. John Dudley, under the signature of J. D. in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1813, part i. p. 318, calls the stone mentioned in the last extract, "*Hoston-stone*, or *Hoston* ; meaning probably *High-stone*."

WATSON.

In an account of Druidical remains at Halifax, in Yorkshire, by the Rev. John Watson, *Archæologia*, ii. p. 353, it is said, that "the Rocking Stone is situated so as to be a boundary mark between the two townships of Golcar and Slaighthwait, and gives the name of *Hole-stone* Moor to the adjoining grounds—corrupted, as I take it (adds Mr. Watson, p. 356,) from *Holy-stone*, or *Holed-stone*."

ANONYMOUS.

The nameless author of a discourse about some Roman antiquities discovered near Conquest, co. Somerset, A.D. 1666, published by Hearne, in Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 472, mentions a stone of eight feet high, called "in the full of the mouth *Hoore-stone*," observing, that "doubtless the ancient name was either Hereston, or Hewr-stone, or "*Hier-stone*, i. e. *Duke's-stone*, or *Generall's-stone*, Anglo-Saxonice:" yet, doubting his own "doubtless" opinion, and entering into a disquisition respecting *Ursus*, or *Urse*, sheriff of Worcestershire in the time of the Conqueror, whose father might have had the same name, and might have been slain and buried here, the author again wanders into the fields of imagination, and adds: "if this stone be Huer-stone, it is *Lord Generall's stone* ; if Urse-stone, it is *Ursus-stone* ; if Huer-stone AND Urse-stone, then *Lord Generall Ursus his stone* !"

SCOTT.

In note ix to the fourth canto of his Marmion, Sir Walter Scott gives the following information: "When James VI. mustered the army of the kingdom [at Edinburgh] in 1513, the Borough-Moor was, according to Hawthornden, a field spacious and delightful, by the shade of many stately and aged oaks. Upon that and similar occasions, the royal standard is traditionally said to have been displayed from *the Hare Stane*, a high stone, now

built into the wall. The Hare-stone probably derives its name from the British word *Har*, signifying an army."

ROWLANDS.

Alluding to the rude "uneffigiated erected pillar-stones" of the Israelites, and supposing the *Meini-gwyr* of the Welsh to have been set up for the same purposes in the times of Druidism, Mr. Rowlands observes, as one reason for idol worship, that "when men esteemed the souls of deceased heroes as deities, and accounted them worthy of divine honours, they thought of no fitter place to afford them this adoration than at their sepulchres and monuments: esteeming those places as certain fixed and peculiar residences and habitations of those deities. And these monuments there erected, perhaps called by the names of the men departed, (which by the way may somewhat account for our *Meini-gwyr*, i. e. our Men-pillars,) they accounted statues animatas." *Mona Antiqua*, ed. 1766, p. 215.

LHWYD.

Describing the Buarth Arthur, or *Meineu-gwyr*, in the Additions to Gibson's Camden, Mr. Lhwyd says, that "*Meineu-gwyr* is so old a name it seems scarce intelligible. *Meineu* is indeed our common word for large stones, but *gwyr* in the present British signifies only *crooked*, which is scarce applicable to these stones, unless we should suppose them to be so denominated because some of them are not at present directly upright, but a little inclining. It may be, such as take these circular monuments for Druid temples, may imagine them so called from *bowing*, as having been places of worship. For my part I leave every man to his conjecture." *Carmarthenshire*, col. 752.

FENTON.

This writer, who appears to have had a generally correct view of the subject, in his Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire, p. 24, after noticing a circular earth encampment near Fynnon Druidion, "marked by a solitary *Maen-hir*," thus proceeds: "*Maen-hir*, making *Meini-hirion* in the plural, literally translated a long stone, is here meant to designate one of such erect stones as are numerous over every part of Wales, the rude memorials of the

earliest ages, serving as well to record various events, such as battles, treaties, covenants, and contracts, as to fix the boundaries of petty dynasties, and less important subdivisions of property."

To these Extracts, which sufficiently exhibit the variety of ways in which our antiquaries have viewed these "stumbling blocks,"^a it must be added, that Mr. Jones, and Sir R. C. Hoare, have, in like manner with Mr. Fenton, considered the name of Maen-hir as derived from *hir*, the Welsh for *long*; the former gentleman mentioning "a maen-hir, or *long* upright stone, in a field before Cwrt y gollen house," Brecon. ii. part ii, p. 470, and the latter in his Ancient History of North Wiltshire, making the second class of British Monuments the "Maen-hir, or *long* upright stone," pp. 113, 114.

King, in the first volume of *Munimenta Antiqua*, has an entire chapter "concerning stones of memorial," but there is nothing in it to elucidate the particular object in question; nor does Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, a book replete with curious information, seem to be aware of the real designation of these stones, though he treads on the very verge of discovery, and a single line from one portion of his work will afford us an undeviating clue to it.

This shall be given in the following Section.

^a See the motto prefixed to the present Essay.

SECTION II.

An exposition of the name of Hoar-stones, whereby is shewn the intention of our ancestors in erecting them; confirmed by examples of many other objects bearing the epithet of Hoar.

"Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis sic quoque numen habes."

OVID. FASTI, lib. ii. ver. 641, 2.

"He loves to peer him after ancient fragments in out-of-the-way places; such as wading through a drain when parishes beat their boundaries, to see where the old land-mark stood."

TALES OF AN ANTIQUARY, 1828, vol. i. p. 8.

"*Harz*, a bound, limit, hinderance, derived from the Armoric; as *MEN-HARS*, A BOUND-STONE." This is the promised quotation from Borlase, Cornish-English Vocabulary, p. 436, and with relation to the present subject it appears at once explicit.

In fact, the Greek *Horos*, the Latin *Ora*, the Celtic and Welsh *Or* and *Oir*, the Armoric *Harz*, the Anglo-Saxon *Or*, *Ord*, and *Ora*, the German *Ort*, the Italian *Orlo*, the old French *Orée*, the French *Orle*, the Spanish *Orla*, the Arabic *Ori*, the obsolete British *Yoror*, the obsolete Irish *Ur* and *Or*, the Gaelic or Erse *Ear* and *Aird*, with similar words in other languages, have all to a certain degree one and the self-same meaning, namely, a *bound*, or *limit*; ^b and the Hoar-stone is consequently nothing more than the *stone of memorial* or *land-mark*, describing the boundary of property, whether of a public or a private nature, as it has been used in almost all countries, from the patriarchal era down to the days of the present generation.

^b See Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, pp. 108, 205, 207, 272. Davies's *Celtic Researches*, pp. 426, 529. Lye and Manning's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, under *Or* and *Ord* (Initium) and *Ora* (*Ora*, littus,) Bullet's *Dictionnaire Celtique*, also Borlase, ut supra. To these authorities may be added the following observations of Dr. Whitaker: "The River *Hodder* for several of the last miles forms the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire, as it must have originally done between two British tribes, the word *Odre* in that language signifying a limit or bound." *History of Whalley*, ed. 3. p. 7.

The unaspirated Greek *Oros* denoting a mountain, one of the natural limitations of vision, its root, and that of all the preceding words, may probably be referred to the Hebrew *Hor*, or *Har*, a mountain,^c which in a secondary sense, seems to be used for a termination. Thus mount *Hor*, otherwise Seir, formed the western boundary of Arabia Petræa, Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20, 21. Another *Hor*, or Lebanon, divided the northern frontier of Palestine from Syria, Numbers, xxiv. 7. Mount *Hermon*, or Sion, was also a limitary station, Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48. In the last quoted passage the words are very remarkable, "From *Ar-oer*, which is by the bank of the river *Ar-non*, even unto Mount Sion, which is *Her-mon*." Arnon, in another place is said to be "the *border* of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites," Numbers xxi. 13. Beth-*horon*, likewise, was a border station of the Ephraimites, Josh. xvi. 5.

"The conic, pyramidal, and cylindrical stones, perpendicularly raised, which are to be seen in the British Islands, were in pagan times generally to ascertain the boundaries of districts." This is the remark of Mr. Astle, in the *Archæologia*, vol. XIII, p. 211; and Borlase observes, *History of Cornwall*, p. 167, that "Stones were erected by the ancients as boundaries, either national or patrimonial.^d Laban and Jacob's monument was partly of the patrimonial kind: 'This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.' Genesis, xxxi. 52. As to national boundaries, the Israelites, where no city, sea, lake, or hill offered itself, made a stone their boundary; as in the limits of the kingdom of Judah; 'and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben,' Joshua, xv. 6; 'and descended to the stone of Bohan,' Ibid. xviii. 17."^e The northern nations had also the same way of distinguishing their districts according to Olaus Magnus, *Gent. Septentr. Hist. lib. I. cap. 31*; "Sunt et lapides alti,

^c Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, ed. 7. p. 165.

^d It is a remarkable fact, that from the circumstance of stones having been erected for landmarks, the earliest maps were delineated upon pillars. Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*, I. p. 385.

^e The prædial landmarks of the Jews seem generally to have been set on end. "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance." Deut. xix. 14. "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set." Prov. xxii. 28.

quorum aspectu et signo, provinciarum, præfectuarum, arcium, communitatum, nobilium ac plebeiorum antiquissimæ possessiones, sine legibus, sine litibus, sine judiciis, unicuique pacificæ permittuntur; documento cæteris nationibus ostenso, quod inter has simplices gentes plus juris et æquitatis ex limitaneis saxis habetur, quam alibi in multis legum voluminibus, ubi homines se reputant doctiores, et civiliores."^f

So likewise did the Greeks^g and Romans point out the limits of their prædial possessions; and the subject itself, in a more extended view, would embrace the whole history of the heathen Terminus.^h Suffice it to mention, that in the scene where Homerⁱ describes the missile with which Minerva wounded Mars, it is said,

"Then heaved the Goddess in her mighty hand
A stone, the limit of the neighbouring land,
There fix'd from eldest times; black, craggy, vast."

POPE.

And also that Virgil^k places a similar object in the grasp of Turnus, during his last struggle with Æneas:

"Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo qui forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis."

^f "The Gaelic people did sometimes erect memorial stones, which, as they were always without inscription, might as well have not been set up." Chalmers's *Caledonia*, III. p. 233. Mr. C. had forgotten that such stones were intended to aid tradition, by exciting an enquiry why they were erected. So in Joshua, iv. 6, 21; "When your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them." Dr. Richardson, in 1816, mentions that "the ancient custom of setting up stones, or stony pillars, to commemorate particular events, still prevails in Nubia." *Travels*, I. p. 473.

^g See in Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*, I. p. 34, some remarks upon the word *Horos*, with which several mountains are inscribed, possibly to distinguish the bounds of pasturage; where it is also observed that Dr. Macmichael found some sepulchral stones, near Athens, inscribed with the same word, indicating the limits of the tombs.

^h In Pelletier's *Dictionnaire de la langue Bretonne*, p. 421, is an extremely curious article, wherein an evident connexion is shown between the Celtic word *Harz*, a boundary, and the passage in *Cæsar de Bello Gall.* lib. 6. "*Deum maximè Mercurium colunt*," &c. as well as between *Terminus*, and the Celtic *Ter-mein*, i. e. earth-stones. A very learned disquisition, entitled, "*Ogmios Luciani ex Celticismo illustratus, auctore Frid. Sam. Schmidt, Helvet. Bernas.*" (*Archæologia*, I. p. 262) may be consulted for information respecting the *Dii Terminales*.

ⁱ *Iliad*, xxi. 403-5.

^k *Æneid*. xii. 897, 8.

"An antique stone—the common bound
Of neighbouring fields, and barrier of the ground."

DRYDEN.

In confirmation of the foregoing remarks, it will be satisfactory to see how the word *Hoar*, by itself, expresses a frontier or peninsular situation, and combines adjectively with other words, to the extraordinary number of seventy, as descriptive of terminary qualities; evincing, to demonstration, that the prolific etymon of *Horos* is interwoven in the construction of many local names, where its existence hitherto has not been suspected.

1. HOAR.

Woore, co. Salop, in Domesday Wavre, on a tongue of land between Staffordshire and Cheshire.

Church-Over, co. Warwick, in Domesday Wavre, bordering on Leicestershire.

Over, co. Cambridge, in Domesday Ovre, bordering on Huntingdonshire.

Awre, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Avre, on a peninsular in the Severn.

Oare, co. Somerset, in Domesday Are, bordering on Devonshire.

The limits of Exmore, 26 Edw. I. went "usque aquam quæ vocatur *Ore*." Hearne's *Adam de Damerham*, p. 190; or, according to the *Forest Roll* in the Tower, 29 Edw. I. "per fossatum usque ripam de *Ar*, que est in confinio Com. Som. et Devon."

Hasted describes *Owre*, near Milton, as "situated on the *edge* of the marshes;" and *Ore*, near Feversham, "at the *very edge* of the marshes," ii. pp. 628, 730.

2. HOAR OAK.

In Speed's Map of Devonshire, the figure of a tree, called *Hore Oke*, stands on the line of division between that county and Somersetshire.

3. HOAR WITHY.

"Fram Egceanlæa to tham *Haran Withie*." In a charter of K. Ethelred's to Eynesham Abbey, co. Oxon. *Monast. Angl.* i. p. 260.

"On tha *Haran Withi*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wolverhampton, co. Stafford. *Ibid.* i. p. 990.

"On thone *Haran Withig*." Heming's Cartulary, describing the limits of Pendock, co. Worcester, pp. 183, 184, 360, 361.

"Per medium alneti usque ad *la Horewythege*." In the boundaries of Glaston twelve hides, co. Somerset. Collinson, ii. p. 238, from Joh. Glaston, i. p. 13.

The limits of the New Forest are described in the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. as going "into *Horewythge*," and in a perambulation, 22 Car. II. "to *Horewithey*, in the place whereof (now decayed) a post standeth in the ground."

"On thonne *Haran Withig*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 92.

"On thone *Haran Withig*." In King Edgar's grant of lands at Rimecunda to the same monastery. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

"By the water of Cranbourne to *la Horewieth*." Limits of Cranbourne Chase, co. Dorset, 29 Hen. III. Hutchins, iii. p. 65.

4. HOAR THORN.¹

"To the *Hoare Thorne*." Boundaries of lands at Chobham, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 77.

"On the *Haran Thyrrnan*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 40.

"On thone *Haran Thorn*." Ibid. fol. 107 b.

"On thone *Haran Thorn*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 54.

Horthorne Meadow in Bickenhill, co. Warwick, named in a sale Particular, A.D. 1662.

Horethorne Down, co. Somerset. This is on the frontier of Dorsetshire, and must have been so called from some conspicuous boundary-tree; though Collinson, ii. p. 351, derives its name from the Saxon Hear Thorn, or High Thorn.

¹ The peasantry of Ireland regard "old and solitary thorns" with great reverence; considering them as sacred to the revels of the fairies, whose vengeance follows their removal. Croker's Researches, p. 83. I have met with several instances of lands in England, described, in ancient deeds, as lying near the *Night-mare thorn*; some lonely spot which superstition had peopled with unearthly beings.

Worsthorn, co. Lancaster, bounding on Yorkshire.

5. HOAR HAZEL.

"On thone *Haran Hæslæ*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 40.

6. HOAR MAPLE.

"To then *Hare Mapeldure*, of then *Hore Mapeldure*." Boundaries of lands at Chertsey, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 76.

7. HOAR APPLE-TREE.

"Westward on *Harenapildore-wei*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Glastonbury abbey. New Monast. i. p. 55.

"On the *Haren-apuldre*." Ibid. at Batecomb, p. 56.

"On the *Haran Apel-treo*." Heming's Cartulary. Boundaries of Wyke, co. Worcester, p. 75.

"In *Haran Eapol-derne*." Ibid. Cofton, co. Worcester, p. 7. Bishop Lytelton translates this "to the grey apple-trees," in his account of Alvechurch Parish, as printed by Nash, i. p. 20.

"To thære *Haran Apeldran*." Ibid. Hallow, co. Worcester, p. 340.

"To there *Hore Aepeldure*." Boundaries of lands at Egham, co. Surrey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 77.

"Thonan on *Haran Apuldre*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 446. fol. 27.

"Erest on tha *Haran Apeldran*." Boundaries of lands belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 16 b.

"On tha *Haran Apeldere*." Ibid. fol. 28 b.

"On tha *Haran Apoldre*." Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"To thære *Haran Apoldre*." Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"Metæ et termini Forestæ de Gilling, co. Dorset,—sicut marchæ de Wylteschyre tendunt usque *Horapeldure*." ["Hor Appildor," in another MS.] Hearne's Adam de Domerham, p. 654. The Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. in the Tower, says, exinde usque *Horeapeldre*.

Heming's Cartulary, in one place notices an apple-tree and a maple grow-

ing together as a landmark : "Ther stondath apeltreo and mapeltreo togædere gewæxen." Clive, p. 245.

8. HOAR CROSS.

Hore Cross, a hamlet in Yoxall, co. Stafford, anciently called the Manor of the Cross. It is on the edge of Needwood Forest. Shaw, i. p. 103.

9. HOAR STOKE, or Place.

Warstock, in King's Norton, co. Worcester, is close to Warwickshire; and on an inquisition being taken there, 5 Edw. III. is described in the Escheat Roll as "*le Horestok*, in confinio Comitatus Wigorn. et Warr."

10. HOAR HAM, or Home.

The manor of *Horeham*, co. Essex, lies partly in Thaxted and partly in Broxted. Morant, ii. p. 440.

"*Arlingham*, co. Gloucester, is peninsulated by the Severn on the E. W. and N. sides." Rudder, p. 234.

11. HOAR TON, or Inclosure.

"Abinde usque la Lee, et sic usque *Horton*." Limits of Windsor Forest, 1 Edw. III. in the Leger Book of Chertsey abbey. Lansd. MS. 435. fol. 133.

"Up and lang winburnan oth *Hore-tuninge* gemære." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436, fol. 37 b.

Orton, co. Westmoreland, joins Sedbergh in Yorkshire. Nicolson and Burn, p. 481.

Horton, co. Northampton, abuts on Buckinghamshire on the E. and joins Hartwell on the S. W.

Hareston, co. Leicester, borders on Lincolnshire.

Hornton, co. Oxford, abuts on Warwickshire.

Warmington, co. Northampton, is situate on the river Nen, which divides it from Huntingdonshire.

Warmington, co. Warwick, is bounded by Oxfordshire.

Wormleighton, co. Warwick, joins Northamptonshire.

Wharleton, co. Durham, bordering on Yorkshire.

Warton, co. Stafford, abuts on Shropshire.

Everton, lies partly in each of the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.

12. HOAR WORTH, or Inclosure.

Harworth, co. Nottingham, borders on Yorkshire,

Arthingworth, co. Northampton, is bounded on the S. W. by *Harringworth*, which the river Welland divides from Rutlandshire.

Warkworth, co. Northampton, bounds on Oxfordshire.

13. HOAR WOOD.

Whaddon Chase, co. Bucks, an ancient forest of the Mercian kings, is bounded on the W. by the parishes of Great and Little *Horwood*.

Hardingwood, co. Chester. See Pennant's Tour, 8vo edit. p. 59.

14. HOAR THWAIT, Assart, or Ridding.

Stoneraise division of Allerdale parish, co. Cumberland, goes "round *Harthwait Common*." Nicolson and Burn, p. 142.

15. HOAR PARK.

An ancient wood, called *Hoar Park*, occupies the outskirts of Bentley, and abuts on Monwode, co. Warwick.

16. HOAR LAND.

Hore Londe at Wootton Wawen, co. Warwick, is mentioned in the Ministers' accounts of the Duke of Buckingham, Hen. VII. and is probably the same as now called Whor-knap, bordering on Oldborough and Morton.

Hartland Point, co. Devon, a celebrated promontory.

Horlands, one of the limits of the New Forest, in a perambulation, 22 Car. II.

17. HOAR GROUNDS.

Some fields, named *Hoar Grounds*, lie between Hoar Park and Monwode, co. Warwick.

18. HOAR LEY, or Pasture.

Ondlang thæs weyes on *Haran Læh*. Heming's Cartulary, describing the boundaries of Lawern, co. Worcester, pp. 161, 349.

Harley, a large common field, now inclosed, in Bagot's Bromley, co. Stafford, bounds on Yatesale.

Hurley, co. Berks, in Domesday Herlei, bordering on Buckinghamshire.

Harleyford, co. Bucks, bordering on Berkshire.

Warleigh, co. Devon, bordering on Cornwall.

Waresley, co. Huntingdon, bordering on Cambridgeshire.

Horley, co. Oxford, bordering on Warwickshire.

Wardley, co. Rutland, bordering on Leicestershire.

Hordley, co. Salop, bordering on Flintshire.

Worley, Wigorn, and *Worley*, Salop, two hamlets in those respective counties, joining each other.

Horley, co. Surrey, a frontier manor on Sussex.

Hordley, co. Durham, "Memorandum. Quod parochia de Wytton Gilbert incipit ab Hennyburn, aliter Hornbyburn, ex parte orientali, sequendo *le Hordley* usque Conkburn." Hutchinson, ii. p. 348 note.

19. HOAR MEAD.

In the parish of *Hormead* Parva, co. Herts, is "an irregular block of granite, which Salmon conjectures to have been a Roman milestone," and Mr. Clutterbuck thinks it likely to have had this office from its vicinity to Hare Street, upon the Ermin Street Road. iii. p. 423. It was probably the Hoar-stone, standing in the Hoar Mead.

Some of the demesne lands of Monk's Horton Priory, co. Kent, lay "in *Horre Mede*." New Monast. v. p. 36.

War Meadow, in Solihull, co. Warwick, abutting on King's Norton, co. Worcester.

20. HOAR ING, or Meadow.

Harding, co. Wilts, borders on Berkshire.

21. HOAR FIELD.

Horfield, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Horæfelle, is situate "in the *extremity* of the lower division of the hundred of Berkeley." Bigland, ii. p. 97.

Harefield, co. Middlesex, borders on Bucks and Herts.

22. HOAR CROFT.

War Croft, in Solihull, co. Warwick, abutting on King's Norton, co. Worcester.

23. HOAR MOOR.

In the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. the limits of the New Forest are set out as going "usque Merkeford, et sic usque *Horemor*;" and 22 Car. II. "to *Horemore*."

Horner, a hundred in Berkshire, "being the northern part of the County, bounded on the E. N. and W. by the Isis, which separates it from Oxfordshire." Capper's Topogr. Dictionary.

Whor Moor, in West Bromwich, co. Stafford.

A meadow in Little-Hay, co. Stafford, is called the *Whore Moor*, in the Court Roll of 1691.

Harding Moor, co. York, Dr. Richardson, in Lel. Itin. i. 146.

24. HOAR MOSS.

"Ab exitu *Haremos*, qui est inter Marburiam et Bromkelawann,—ad antedictum exitum de *le Haremos*." Limits of land at Cumbermere, co. Chester. Monast. Angl. I. p. 764.

25. HOAR QUEBB, or Quagmire.

A leasowe or pasture called *Hore Quebbe*, within the forren of Birmingham, nighe Wynsdon Greene, is named in a Deed, 33 Eliz.

26. HOAR SLADE, or narrow Valley.

The boundaries of the City of Lichfield go "along by the pool and the brook, taking in *Horslade*." Harwood, p. 357.

27. HOAR COOMB, or Valley.

Harescomb parish, co. Gloucester, forms a narrow projecting point of Dudstone and King's Barton Hundred, running between those of Whitstone and Bisley.

28. HOAR DEAN, or Dale.

"Up at thære dices geate æt *Harandene*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 77.

29. HOAR DELL.

Hare-dell field, in Offley, co. Herts, bounded by the road leading from Lilley to Offley. Clutterbuck, iii. p. 91.

30. HOAR GILL, or Glen.

A charter concerning "rectas divisas inter Bernolveswic, et forestam de Blakeburnescire," gives the following boundary marks: "usque ad *Oregile*, et ita per *Oregile* sursum usque ad Pikedelawe." New Monast. v. p. 532.

31. HOAR HYRNE, or Corner.

"De Solemereswestnok usque *Horehyne*." In a charter of King Edgar's, describing lands belonging to the monks of Winchester. Mon. Ang. i. p. 38.

32. HOAR WICK, or Bank.

"Of tham thorn on *Haran Wic* westewearde." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton abbey. Harl. MS. 436. fol. 27.

Harwich, at the N. E. extremity of Essex, on the river *Orwell*, with *Arwarton*, in Suffolk, nearly opposite.

Warwick, on the banks of the Avon, named perhaps from some *limes*, or border-station.

33. HOAR KNAP, or Rising.

Whor-Knap, at the verge of Wootton Wawen parish, co. Warwick, bordering on Oldborough and Morton. See Horelond.

34. HOAR COPP, Mound, or Hillock.

Warcop, co. Westmoreland, anciently Warthecoppe and Wardecop, abuts on Romaldekirk, in Yorkshire.

Horcop, in Huchingfield, co. Hereford. Charter of Free Warren, 37 Hen. III.

35. HOAR DON, or Hill.

Cheping *Wardon*, co. Northampton, joins Wardenton, in Oxfordshire.

Harrowdon, co. Northampton, in Domesday Haredon, is bounded on the south by Hardwick, and stands on the confines of Orlingbury.

Horton, co. Gloucester, in Domesday Horedon. There is another manor in the same parish, called Horewood. Bigland, ii. p. 105.

36. HOAR GRAVE, Trench, or Vallum.^m

"And lang thære dic in *Here grafun*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Witlinc, co. Worcester, pp. 171, 354. It appears to be the same place as *Hargraves*, in a survey of the limits of Hartlebury, about A. D. 1648. Nash, i. p. 570.

"On tha crundelas besuthan *Haran grafas*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 34 b.

"Of tham hlæwe to *Here grafe*." Ibid. fol. 37 b.

"Andlang richt gemæres on *Hærgraf*." Ibid. fol. 68.

"Fram bedewindan to *Haran grafan*." Ibid. fol. 77.

"Thonon to *Heregræfen*." Ibid. fol. 82 b.

Nostell abbey, co. York, held lands in Rowell "inter the *Orgreve*, et magnam viam." Cotton. MS. Vespasian, E. xix. fol. 30.

"*Orgraves*, a boundary of the manor of Leeds, co. York." Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 99.

Hargrave, co. Northampton, is bounded by Bedfordshire.

Hargrave, an estate in Bickenhill, co. Warwick, bordering on the parishes of Elmdon, and Hampton-in-Arden. It is called "*the Hargroves*" in a particular for sale, A. D. 1662.

Wargrave, co. Berks, bordering on Oxfordshire.

37. HOAR LAW, or Mount.

A place called *Horelaw Head*, on the boundaries of Rossendale Forest, co. Lancaster. Whitaker's Whalley, third ed. p. 365.

Another *Horelowe*, marking the division between Great Harwood and Bilynton, 24 Edw. I. Ibid. p. 144 note.

The bounds of the Chase of Burton in Lonsdale, and also between the counties of York and Lancaster, are described in the Escheat Roll, 35

^m Grave also signifies a grove: perhaps, in its primary application, one that was protected by a graff, or trench; as, I presume, a coppice derives its name from the cops, or mounds, enclosing it.

Edw. III. as running "from Caldeston to a certain place which is called *Harlaw*." Whitaker's Richmondshire, ii. p. 354.

Harelaw in Liddesdale, bordering on Cumberland.

Harlow Greave, a tumulus near Mayfield, co. Stafford. Shaw, i. General Hist. p. 33.

A castellum of the Roman wall is situate at *Harlow Hill*, co. Cumberland.

Harelow Hill, near Leeds. Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 143.

Warlaw Bank, "part of a ridge, stretching from E. to W. through Coldingham and Bonkil," in Berwickshire. Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 209 note.

Harelaw Cairn, near the S. W. boundaries of Berwickshire. Ibid. p. 405 note.

Harlow, co. Essex, bordering on Hertfordshire.

Warslow, co. Stafford, bordering on Derbyshire.

38. HOAR BURY, Borough, or Earth-work.

Arbury Hill, or *Arbury Bank*, co. Northampton, is "on the west boundary of Badby lordship." Baker, vol. i. p. 258.

An ancient mound forming one of the limits of King's Wood, co. Warwick, is called *Arborough Banks*.

The bounds of Cannock Chase are noted, 18 Edw. I. as "ascendendo le Blakestrete usque in *Orburiwell*." New Monast. vi. p. 1253. It is called *Orburie Well*, 3 Edw. IV. Shaw (unpublished), ii. part ii. p. 312.

In the Forest Roll, 29 Edw. I. the boundaries of Rokynham Forest are described as "sequendo le Harperesbrok — includend' dominicum boscum Domini Regis qui vocatur Kyngesgore, cum uno assarto quod vocatur *Harberwe*."

Lands at Barton, belonging to York abbey, lay "apud *Herber-pittes*." Harl. MS. 236. fol. 7 b.

"*Burrow-hill*, a spacious encampment in Leicestershire near the confines of Rutland, in ancient writings termed *Erdburg*." Nichols, ii. p. 524.

Harborough, co. Leicester, bordering on Northamptonshire.

Worbarrow, co. Dorset, "a little rocky hill, almost environed with the sea." Hutchins, i. pp. 333, 356.

39. HOAR HILL.

In Over Alderley, co. Chester, at the present boundary of Alderley and Presbury parishes, and near the ancient division of Hamestan and Boachelan Hundreds, is an estate called *the Harehills*. Ormerod, iii. p. 307.

Harthill parish, "the most southern point of the whole County of York." Hunter's Doncaster, i. p. 139.

Hare-hill, near the Roman wall, co. Cumberland. Horsley, p. 153.

Hare-hill, near Leeds, co. York. Thoresby, by Whitaker, p. 145.

Wornhill is a field in Radford Simely, co. Warwick, abutting on Offchurch.

40. HOAR HOPE, or Height.

"Near the S. W. boundaries of Berwickshire, may be seen several heights which are called *Harehope Cairn*, *Harelaw Cairn*," &c. Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 405, note.

41. HOAR EDGE.

One of the summits of the Titterstone Clee Hill, near Ludlow, co. Salop, is called the *Whar Edge*.

42. HOAR RIDGE.

Horridge is a hamlet in Corse, co. Gloucester, bordering on Worcestershire.

Horridge, co. Bucks, borders on Hertfordshire.

43. HOAR CRAGG.

A boundary of Lartington in Richmondshire, was *Hare Cragg*. Whitaker, p. 139.

44. HOAR CLIFF.

One of the bounds of Mendip Forest, co. Somerset, 26 Edw. I. was the *Horeclive*. Collinson, iii. p. 373.

"Partly within the parish of Barrow, and partly within that of Winford, co. Somerset, is a rock or cliff, called *Hare-Clive* or *Cliff*." Ibid. ii. p. 279.

45. HOAR ROCK.

It is probable "*le Hore Rok* in the wodd," as William de Worcestre calls Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall, Itin. p. 102, received its name from some part of the bare rock rising prominently above the wood, in shape resembling a Hoar-stone. Leland notices an island in Torbay, co. Devon, of similar form and designation: "Ther is an other Rokky Isle far bigger then Isleston, and is caullid *Horestane*." Itin. iii. p. 31.

46. HOAR TORR.

Polwhele in his History of Devonshire, i. p. 46, speaking of torrs, or rude piles of stones, near Lidford, names one bearing the appellation of *Hare-Torr*.

47. HOAR WAY.

"On there *Herewai* the schet suth." Boundaries of land belonging to Shaftesbury Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 217.

"On than old *Herewey*." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i. p. 48.

48. HOAR STREET.

The Church of Rochester had lands at Malling, co. Kent, described in the Textus Roffensis, p. 109, as abutting "on *Here Stræt*, and lang Stræt ofer lylle burnan."

49. HOAR LANE.

"In this neighbourhood [of Hare Cliff, dividing Barrow and Winford, co. Somerset] there is also a road called *Hare Lane*." Collinson, ii. p. 279. The author subsequently remarks that "this Cliff and this Lane are both seated on the important *boundary* of Wansdike," yet derives their appellation "from the Saxon *Here*, which signifies an army."

"*Hairlane*, otherwise Herlon, Harelane, and *Boundlane*," in the suburbs of Gloucester. Rudder, p. 205. Mr. Fosbroke, in his History of that City, p. 8, calls it "*Hare-lone*, Here-lone, i. e. *Army Lane*," without noticing it as *Bound Lane*, which is merely a translation of its ancient appellation.

"A stone set in a place called *Horlen*." Survey of the bounds of Coventry, A. D. 1581, in the leet book of that City.

50. HOAR PATH.

"Endlang *Herepathes* on thar weilete." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i. p. 58.

"Endlang *Here pathes* eft on Scherdanbourgh." Ibid. p. 61.

"Orientaliter per la hame, ultra pontem pedalem ligneum vocatum *Harepathe bruge*, per dictam semitam vocatam *Harepathe*." Limits of Glaston Twelve Hides, 18 Hen. VII. in Hearne's Joh. Glaston. ii. p. 294.

"On thone wudu *Herpath*, ond long *Herpathes* on ciolan wey." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Clopton, co. Worcester, p. 135.

"On thone salt *Herpath*, and swa ond long thæs *Herpathes* that on soltere dene." Ibid. Wulfrintun, pp. 154, 359.

"On thone folc *Hearpath*." Ibid. Grimley, pp. 148, 417.

"Upon thone caldan *Hear path*." Ibid. Bishop's Stoke, p. 122.

"On thone *Herpath* to Hindehlypan." Ibid. Wenderclife, p. 463. Somner, in the Monasticon, i. p. 124, renders it "*ad viam militarem*;" but on the same term occurring again, in the boundaries of some lands belonging to the Church of Winchester, i. p. 37, east to *Hearpath*, a marginal note explains it by "*altiore semitam*."

K. Alfred gave to the Church of Athelney, the manor of Long Sutton, co. Somerset, distinguished, *inter alia*, by the following boundaries:—"from Chelbroke up to *Harepath*, end elang *Harepath* to Merfronford, from Cuttleston unto *Herpath*, end elang *Herpath* unto Dyrston. Collinson, iii. p. 197.

"On thæm *Haran path*." Boundaries of land given by K. Canute to a Monk named Ævic, at Niwanham. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

"Of thare dic and lang *Herpathes*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 16 b.

"Of thæm beorge on thone *Herepath*." Ibid. fol. 21 b.

"Swa north to *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 32. "To than *Hearpathe* north." Ibid. fol. 39 b.

"Andlang *Heorpathes*." Ibid. fol. 40. "Andlang *Herpathes*." Ibid. fol. 41.

"Andlang broces on *Herpath ford* on tame." Ibid. fol. 52 b.

"To than bradan *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 53 b. 100.

"Of thære æce on thene *Hearapod*." Ibid. fol. 63. "On thone *Herepath*, fol. 83 b.

"Hit cumth to tham *Herepath*." Boundaries of land belonging to Wilton Abbey. Harl. MS. 436, fol. 6, 9 b.

"And lang be tham yrthland oth cymth to tham wic *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 22 b.

"And lang dic east on thone ealdan *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 25 b.

"And lang dic to langan beorge tha on thone *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 26 b.

"On thæne *Herpæth*, and lang pathes on dyrebroc." Ibid. fol. 27.

"Of thære wyrthe to *Hearpathe*." Ibid. fol. 40.

"Of *Herepath* on rugan dic." Ibid. fol. 44. "Up to *Herpothe*." Ibid. fol. 49.

"Ærest of noddre and lang thes port *Her pathes*,—swa adune to tham port *Herpathe*." Ibid. fol. 46 b.

"And lang hriges swa se *Herepoth* sceat to tham beorge." Ibid. fol. 61.

"On thone *Herpath* to posses hlæwe." Ibid. fol. 72.

"And lang thaes frith *Herpathes* on sand beorh." Ibid. fol. 73.

"North ofer *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 75. "On thone bradan *Herpath*." Ibid. fol. 79 b.

"To thæne theod *Herepath*." Ibid. fol. 79 b.

"To than *Herepath* at heafod stoccan." Ibid. fol. 84 b.

"Thon on thone *Herepath* west." Ibid. fol. 85.

"In the parish of Seaton, co. Devon, is an overland called *Harepath*; which is said to imply *the soldier's path*, 'here' signifying in Saxon *exercitus*, *legio*. But this etymology appears to me frivolous. The place where the river is crossed in Antonine's *Iter* from *Isca* to *Moridunum*, seems to be *Harford*, probably derived from the British *nar fordh*, *trajectus aquæ*, which I prefer to *Here-ford*, *via militaris*." Polwhele, i. p. 183.

51. HOAR GATE, OF WICKET.

Hare's Gate in the limits of Waterdown Forest, bordering on Kent and Sussex. This was a gate placed in the fence, as shown by Speed's Map of Kent.

52. HOAR GATE, OR ROAD.

Dr. Stukeley mentions a Lincolnshire road, which he conjectures to be Roman, called Old Spalding Gate, but "in some places, as above Fleet, it retains the name of *Haregate*, which is equivalent to *via militaris* when spoken by our Saxon progenitors." Itin. Cur. Cent. i. p. 16.

Hargate Lane, in West Bromwich, co. Stafford.

53. HOAR FORD.

The township of *Horsford*, in Kirby's Inquest *Hereford*, is divided from Leeds by a small rivulet.

Horrickford, on the river Ribble near Clitheroe, co. Lancaster, bounding on Yorkshire.

"Ad fossatum de Hurpleya quod dominus rex Ricardus incipere fecit, et de fossato illo usque ad vadum de *Hareford*." Limits of lands in the New Forest, belonging to Beaulieu Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 926.

Harford, co. Devon. See the extract from Polwhele, under Hoar Path.

54. HOAR BRIDGE.

"To *Orebrugge*." Perambulation of the New Forest, 8 Edw. I. It is now called Owre Bridge.

55. HOAR WEIR.

"On tha *Harenwiren* on thene pulle." In the boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monast. i. p. 56.

56. HOAR COTE.

Horcote, in Kempsford, co. Gloucester, bounding on Wiltshire.

57. HOAR HOUSE.

The boundaries of the County of the City of Lichfield go "to the top of Dean-slade, taking in all the *Hare-house* ground." Harwood, p. 358.

58. HOAR HALL.

A messuage called *Hoar Hall* stands near the same boundary line as Hoar Park and Hoar Grounds, in Bentley, co. Warwick.

War Hall, a farm-house in West Bromwich, co. Stafford, on the borders of Wednesbury.

Worminghall, co. Bucks, is contiguous to Oxfordshire.

59. HOAR BY, or Village.

Hareby, co. Nottingham, bordering on Lincolnshire.

Harby, co. Leicester, bordering on Nottinghamshire.

60. HOAR CHESTER, or Camp.

Several barrows or cairns on the tops of hills in Northumberland, "amongst the rest some that are called *Harechesters*, or *Harechester Rings*." Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 448.

61. HOAR CASTLE.

Harecastle, co. Stafford, borders on Cheshire.

62. HOAR DYKE.

Wardyke, one of the limits of the Warren at Castle Rising, co. Norfolk, 39 Eliz. Parkin, ix. p. 57.

"On tha dic, efter *Heredic* that on thes ford." Boundaries of land at Essington, co. Stafford. Monast. Angl. i. p. 990.

A boundary drain of some marsh land, belonging to Edmund's Bury Abbey, co. Suffolk, 13 Edw. II. was called *Oredich*. Harl. MS. 230, fol. 107.

A certain *Wardyke*, called Defdyke, near Wainfleet, co. Lincoln, mentioned 40 Edw. III. Dugdale's *Imbanking*, ed. 2, p. 157.

63. HOAR SYTCH, SIKE, or Watercourse.

Horsych, anciently a manor and hamlet in Cranbourne, on the N. E. confines of Dorsetshire. Hutchins, iii. p. 58.

Heron Sike, a boundary line of Lancashire and Westmoreland. Whitaker's Lonsdale, p. 301.

64. HOAR BOURN, or Rivulet.

The *Harbern*, a Devonshire stream, is described by Lysons as "rising on the edge of Dartmoor." Devonsh. p. cclv. It is called *Hareborne* in Speed's Map.

Harborne, in Domesday Horeborne, co. Stafford, bordering on Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

65. HOAR WASH, or Water.

Erwash is a boundary stream, between the counties of Nottingham and Derby.

66. HOAR MOUTH, or Embouchure.

The limits of the Episcopal Barony of Chichester, 16 Hen. VIII. agreeing with the original donation of King Ceadwalla to the see of Selsey, are said to extend "to *Hormouth* haven, now called West Widding." Dallaway, i. p. 3.

67. HOAR MERE.

"Of tham on tha ealdan dic on *Haran mere*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Bishop's Stoke, co. Worcester, p. 122.

"Thonan to *Haran mere*." Boundaries of land at Clofie, granted by King Ethelred. Cotton. MS. Augustus II.

68. HOAR POOL.

"Near Nantwich, co. Chester, we have *Warpoole*, or *Whorepoole*, in the Inquisitions *Horpoole*, situated near a brook, which has Worleston on the other side of it, and issues from Wardle or Wardale, at the division of Nantwich and Edisbury Hundreds." Information of George Ormerod, Esq. "All our Cheshire Warfords, Warminchams, Wartons, Hortons, Warburtons, &c. (adds Mr. O.) have limitary properties."

69. HOAR PITT.

"Of than garan on *Horpyt*." Boundaries of land belonging to Burton

Abbey, co. Stafford, as described in a Charter of King Eadred. Monast. Angl. i. p. 256.

"Of sandune on *Hor pytte*." Heming's Cartulary, boundaries of Tidminton, co. Worcester, pp. 192, 348

"And lang rices thæt cymth to thæm *Hor pytte*." Ibid. Longdon, p. 209.

"To than *Orputtan* to the ferist stone." Boundaries of land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. New Monasticon, i. p. 59.

"Ond lang dic to *Horo pytte*." Boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey. Cotton. MS. Claudius B. vi. fol. 45.

"And lang thære stræte in on *Hore pyt*." Ibid. fol. 56.

"Northward unto Riggate and to *Hurepitts*." Translated copy of an Inquisition respecting Sherwood Forest, co. Nottingham, 40 Hen. III. in the market and bounds of Kigill and Ravenshead.

70. HOAR WELL.

"Hit cymeth to *Horwyll*." Heming's Cartulary, pp. 66, 380, boundaries of Water Eaton, co. Oxon.

A land boundary at Pershore, co. Worcester, is *Hor wyllan*. Cotton. MS. Augustus II. art. 6.

"Inde per Fulanbroc usque in *Harenwilles*." Boundaries at Evesham, co. Worcester. Monast. Angl. i. p. 145.

In "a speciall Survey of the boundes and meares which divide the libertie and countie of the cittie of Coventr' from the countie of Warr', A. D. 1581," in the Leet Book of that city, the following are noticed: "a little river called *Horwell Stream*, and so by that river or stream, leaving yt on the left hand, untill you come to the well called *Horwell*, and ther ys another merestone sett."

Horwell Field, in Chesterton, co Oxon. Dunkin, i. p. 271.

Harold, co. Bedford, in Domesday Harewelle, borders on Northamptonshire.

The site of Wherwell Abbey, co. Hants, is described by Will. of Malmsbury, as "in silvam *Warewelle*, quæ vocatur *Harewoode*." Monast. Angl. i. p. 256.

In Robert of Gloucester's account of the conflict between the scholars and

the citizens of Oxford, A. D. 1263, it is related that the Gownsmen broke down one of the gates, called Smith-gate, "and suththe thoru Beaumond to *Hare well* it bere." p. 540. On this passage Hearne observes, Pref. xlvi. "In those times, what we now call Walton Well, was styl'd *Harewell*, or *Horewell*, from its antiquity, (as Harwell, or Harewell, near Abbington, in Berks, was likewise so call'd upon the same account) *hare*, or *hore*, signifying *old*, which name it retained, among many, divers years after. I take it to be the oldest Well of note about Oxford." To this explanation, he adds in the Glossary, p. 654; "I am not ignorant, that others will make *hare* to signify the station of an army, as if this were the well of the army. But this I look upon as an absurd exposition."

The Rev. Mr. Leman, in Coxe's Monmouthshire, Introd. p. 14 note, observes, "It is a curious circumstance, that the drain called *Whore's Well*, and the little stream which runs near our Roman road [the Julia strata] form the *boundaries* of an insulated part of the hundred of Berkeley [co. Gloucester]: the name given to the drain was probably a corruption of *Hæduorum Vallum*."

The Forest of *Horwell*, co. Worcester, is included with another called Ambresle, in a charter of disafforestation, by King Henry III. wherein the boundaries of the former are set forth as going "ad boscum de la Mue, et deinde descendendo de aqua de Aven, *per horam ejusdem bosci*, excludendo eundem boscum de la Mue, recta linea usque Sabrinam." Dr. Nash, i. Introd. p. lxxviii. gives an English translation only, rendering the words in italics, "by the *side* of the wood," which agrees with the French *Orée*,—bord ou lisière d'un bois. *Hora* is evidently the aspirated *Ora*, applied in the sense of an extremity, margin, or border; as in Cicero de Finibus, Q. 31, quoted by Ainsworth, "regiones quarum nulla esset *ora*, nulla extremitas."

Thus we find *Hora*, the customary word for an *Hour*, made use of to denote the fence or verge of a wood, an application unusual even in that age of degenerate latinity; *Hora*, for *Ora*, not being noticed by Du Cange, Spelman, Cowel, Blount, or Kennett. It is, however, a member of the same numerous family of words, derived from one parent stock, which has been mentioned at the beginning of this section. And what is an *Hour* but a *Division*? A Division, not indeed of lands, but of a possession far more valuable, which if once lost can never be regained.

SECTION III.

A List of Hoar-stones, and places named from them.

"Condemn not this our diligence for needless curiosity, but know that every Meer-stone, that standeth for a land-mark, though in substance but a hard flint, or plain pibble, is a precious-stone in virtue, and is cordiall against dangerous controversaies between party and party."

Fuller, Pisgah-sight of Palestine, B. ii. chap. 9.

ENGLAND.

BERKSHIRE. "Of tham beorge west riht on thone *Haranstan*." Cotton. MS. Claudius, B. vi. fol. 24 b. boundaries of land belonging to Abingdon Abbey, viz. Mete de Beohtwaldingtune.

"Ufewearde to than *Haran stan*." Ibid. fol. 64 b. Mete de Wrthe.

"Of ruhanleah on thone *Haran stan*." Ibid. fol. 66. Mete de Cumenora.

"Of nunnena pole on *Haran stan*." Ibid. fol. 92. Mete de Cerne.

"Of then yate to then *Horeston*." Boundaries of Ashdowne, co. Berks, in King Edred's charter to Glastonbury Abbey. Hearne's app. to Joh. Glaston, ii. p. 568.

CHESHIRE. "*Harestanes Field*, in Mere." Ormerod, i. p. 361, col. 1. Called Horestonesfield in the next column.

CORNWALL. The Barton of *Tremenhere*, near Penzance. It is observed by Messrs. Lysons, in Cornwall, p. xcvi. that *Tre*, in the Cornish or British language, signified not only a town, village, or dwelling, but also the numeral *Thre*; which latter sense appears to have been adopted in the appropriation of family arms, e. g. "the three stone pillars [meini-hirion, or Hoar-stones,] in those of Tre-men-here;" or, as they are subsequently called, "three doric columns," p. cxvi.

Mr. Polwhele explains the name of this place differently, as "Tre-men-heer, menhir, *the long stone town*, or Tre-myn-hir, *the long passage*;" but when we learn that Mr. Polwhele's own name will admit of such various interpretations, as "the pool work—the top of the field—the miry work—or the top of the work," who dare rely on Cornish etymology? Cornwall, ii. pp. 39, 40, 56.

The *Hurlers*.

DERBYSHIRE. *Horestone Castle.*

DEVONSHIRE. An island in Torbay, called *Horestane*. Leland, Itin. iii. 31.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. The *Hoar Stone* at Dunteshourn Abbots. Engraved in the *Archæologia*, xvi. p. 362.

Land called *Horeston*, at Mickleton. Rudder, p. 547.

"A ground called *Horestones*," at Abston. Bigland, i. p. 39.

HEREFORDSHIRE. The *Hoar-stone* at Tedstone Delamere. Duncumb, ii. p. 197.

KENT. *Herstone*, in the bounds of the Cinque-port's liberty at Ramsgate. Boys' Sandwich, p. 832.

Nennius, ed. Bertram, p. 127, describes the defeat of the Saxons by Vortimer, as having taken place "in campo *juxta lapidem tituli*," which Camden, ed. Gibson, col. 243, conjectures to have been at *Stonar*. Baxter, Gloss. p. 5, approves of this location, notwithstanding a different opinion entertained by Somner and Stillingfleet; adding, "Quid enim *Ston har*, Saxonibus, nisi *Lapis altus*?"

Boys, in *Archæologia*, xi. p. 44, considers this *Lapis tituli* to have been a *Boundary-stone*, within the area of Richborough, and not more than 260 rods from *Stonar*. Battely says, "*Lapides vero finales*, si inscriptum quid haberent, agrimensores *Titulos* appellabant." *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, p. 19, where several authors are quoted to that effect. For *Titulus*, in the sense of an inscribed stone, see Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* p. 273.

LANCASHIRE. *Whore-stones* in Pendle Forest, and *Hare-stones* near Cockerham. Yates's Map. The former are called *Hoare-stones* in Whitaker's *Whalley*, third edit. pp. 214, 216.

The *Wolf Stone*, a single merestone, one immense natural block, on Dr. Whitaker's own estate, marking the division of Cliviger and Stansfield townships, Whalley and Halifax Parishes, the Counties of York and Lancaster, Chester and York Dioceses, York and Canterbury Provinces (*viz.* when Chester was part of Lichfield), and according to Dr. W.'s theory, the boundary of Mercia and Deira. Whalley, *ibid.* p. 37.

LEICESTERSHIRE. The *Holstone* in Humberston Field. Nichols, iii. part 2, p. 981.

MONMOUTHSHIRE. "Per circuitum usque at *Horston*." Boundaries of land belonging to Tintern Abbey. Monast. Angl. i. p. 723.

Harold's Stones at Trelech. King, Munimenta Antiqua, i. p. 199. Also Coxe's Monmouthshire, ii. p. 332, where they are engraved, and called Druidical.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. A rivulet dividing Nether Heyford from Bugbroke, is named *Horestone* and *Hoar-stone Brook*, from falling into the river Nen at Lower Hoar-stone, or Hoar-stone Meadow. Bridges, i. pp. 75, 87, 265, 519.

"That there was a battle betwixt the Saxons and Danes at Danesmore, the name of the place, and a constant tradition of the neighbourhood, may reasonably incline us to believe. The people there have a notable rhyme, which they make the Danes to say upon the point of battle. 'T is this :

' If we can Pad-well overgoe, and *Horestone* we can see ;
Then Lords of England we shall be.'

Pad-well is a noted flush spring in Edgcote grounds : *Horestone* a famous old stone on the borders of Warwickshire, in Wardlinton field, [co. Oxon]."
Morton, p. 542.

OXFORDSHIRE. The *War-stone* at Enstone. This conspicuous object is said, by the country-people, to have been set up at a *French wedding* ; and in that tradition may, perhaps, be found some vestiges of truth ; for the Saxons called the Norman settlers by the name of *Franks* or *French*, the Francigenæ of Domesday Book, and a wedding would be a likely cause for a division of property, either in frank-marriage or dower. A view and description of this stone are given in the Gentleman's Magazine for Feb. 1824, by Edward Rudge, Esq. who judiciously deems it to have been originally a *Cromlech*, supported after the manner of Kit's Coity-house, upon three stones of smaller dimensions, which are still remaining close to it. The tradition ascribing its erection to a French Wedding seems to point out the Norman era, for its appropriation as a *terminus* ; when, forgotten in its primary character, though well known as a fixed and permanent block, it assumed its new office of marking the limits of some patrimonial acres. The stones at Stanton Drew, co. Somerset, are popularly called *the Wedding*, from a tradition that a bride going to be married was here turned

into stone, with all her company; and it is far from improbable (which is all that can be urged on such an obscure subject) that some real event, of a marriage portion including the site of the stones, or being bounded by them, might give rise to the marvellous legend. There are *Bride Stones* in several parts of the kingdom, those at Biddulph, co. Stafford, consist of eight upright stones, two of which stand within a semicircle formed by the other six. May not all these erections be indebted, for their *secondary character*, at least, to bridal dower, or other divisions of property? Before the use of deeds in writing, such stones were "the vouched signature and proof" ^a of some solemn covenant and agreement made on the spot.

In Madox's *Formulare*, No. DXXIV. is a grant of two turbaries to the Monks of Bruerne, "unam silicet sub *le Harestan*."

"The *Hore-stone furlong*, at Cleydon." Plot's *Nat. Hist.* p. 85.

Godstow Nunnery had "a pece of grownde called *Horestone*." *New Monast.* iv. p. 376.

SHROPSHIRE. The *Hoar Stone* in Hales Owen, dividing it from Northfield, co. Worcester.

The *Horreston* occurs in the Cartulary of Haghmon Abbey, in a deed of lands, s. d. at Aston, near Oswestry.

"Et sic directe usque *le Horeston* in Twychenylde Grene." *Salop Forest Roll*, 26 Edw. I. describing Bunde Foreste de Lythewod.

"Et sic descendendo usque *le Horeston* in Ardelestones Grene." *Ibid.* describing Bunde Haye de Welinton.

SOMERSETSHIRE. *Horestone Point*, an immense headland, terminating Porlock Bay on the North. Collinson, i. p. xi. In many Maps it is corrupted into *Horesdown*.

In the boundaries of Glaston Twelve Hides, "inter dominium de Andresey, et dominium de Stoke seu Draycote, usque ad *la Hore Stone*." Hearne's *Joh. Glaston.* p. 303.

"Of than zate to than *Horeston*." Boundaries of land at Ayshedowne, belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. *New Monasticon*, i. p. 52.

^a King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, i. chap. 2.

"Inde usque ad *Harestana* inter pratum regis et pratum Malherbe." Monast. Angl. i. p. 959, describing lands belonging to Witham Friary.

A pasture called "*Whoreston* belonging to the Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalen at Bristol, lying on le Mighill hille," is mentioned 37 Hen. VIII. New Monasticon, iv. p. 590.

STAFFORDSHIRE. A mass apparently of granite, in form somewhat of a truncated cone, stands as a land-mark between Envill and Bobbington, and is called the *Wore Stone*.

Land in Harborne called *Horestone*. Nash, Worcest. ii. app. p. xxxvi.

A pasture called *Whoreston*, in Little Wirley. Shaw, i. p. 314.

The *War Stone* at Trysull, called also the *Hoar Stone*. Ibid. ii. pp. 210, 278.

Land at Brewood, "in a place called the Thornes near *Horston*," mentioned A.D. 1279. Ibid. ii. p. 292 (unpublished).

In the time of Edw. IV. a rent was paid to the lord of Bishbury, "for the tenement of the *Whorstones*." Huntbach's MS. Collections.

"Descendendo usque *Horeston*." Monast. Angl. i. p. 942, describing the possessions of Hilton Abbey.

"On thane *Haran stan*." Ibid. p. 990. Lands at Hilton belonging to Wolverhampton. The same, doubtless, as marked by *Hoar Stones*, in Cary's Map of the County.

The limits of some land at Kaverswalle are given in a deed, s. d. as descending "per fossatum usque ad le *Horestones*."

"E pus deyes le *Horeston* sus le graunt Blakeleye." Staffordshire Forest Roll, 28 Edw. I. m. 18, describing "le bundes de Calonheth."

One of the boundaries of lands belonging to Sandwell Priory was "a place called *Horeston*," and in the survey of its possessions, temp. Hen. VIII, "the *Horeston* close" is mentioned. New Monasticon, iv. p. 191.

WARWICKSHIRE. "Juxta viam qua itur ad *Harestan*." Cartulary of Kenilworth Priory, describing boundaries of land at Rudfen. Harl. MS. 3650, p. 16.

Horeston Grange, a place on the borders of Leicestershire.

Horeston Ground, at Ladbroke, on the limits of the parish. Survey of Ladbroke, A.D. 1639. It is now corruptly called the *Wostings* Field.

The *Hoar Stone* at Whitley near Coventry.

Warstone Lane at Birmingham. The Stone itself is mentioned in deeds as late as A.D. 1676.

The *Wharstones*, a field at Erdington. The Hoar Stone between the parishes of Aston and Sutton Coldfield.

Another field called *Horestone* Close, lying at Moor End, in the same Manor of Erdington, occurs in ancient deeds.

The *Whorstone* at Castle Bromwich, still remaining in a field bordering on Little Bromwich, called "*le Horestonefeld*," in a deed temp. Edw. I.

The *Horestone* at Harbury is named in a deed 9 Hen. IV.

The Abbey of Combe had certain lands in Church Over, described in the Cartulary of that house as lying "*juxta Hareston*." Cotton. MS. Vitellius, A. 1, art. 6.

WILTSHIRE. "*Usque Wolucrundle, videlicet usque la Horestone*." Register of Malmsbury Abbey, Lansdown MS. 417, fol. 14 b. Termini de Ewlme.

WORCESTERSHIRE. The *Hore-stone* in the Foreign of Kidderminster.

Horestone Field in Northfield, so called in a deed, A. D. 1687, though corrupted into the *Oar Stone* Field, in Particulars of Northfield Manor, &c. for sale, A.D. 1820.

Land called Hauxmore in Leigh, is described in a MS. survey of Malvern Chase, A.D. 1633, as "*lying after the head waie from Cowley's oke towards the Hoare Stone*."

Whorstone Field, partly in King's Norton, and partly in Cofton Hacket.

"*Horston* Field, in Feckenham." Letters Patent 37 Hen. VIII. in the possession of the late Christopher Hunt, Esq.

Whorston Grove Coppice, at Himbleton, mentioned on a tablet in the Church.

"*De Apulthonesford usque Horestan*." Survey of Bromsgrove, Norton, and Alvechurch, temp. Edw. III. Nash, i. p. 23.

"*Horestan* and *le Horestan*, in Bromsgrove." Testa de Nevill.

"Of reodmædwan on *Haranstan*." Heming's Cartulary, describing the boundaries of Tredington, p. 39.

"On thone *Haran stan*." Ibid. Cutsdean, pp. 167, 348.

"Of thone *Haran stan*." Ibid. Clive, p. 245.

"Into cyles dene to tham *Haran stane*." Ibid. Hallow, p. 339.

"On wene [thene] grene weie wat [that] on *Horeston*." Ibid. Cutsdean, p. 433.

"Duo crofta voc' *Horestone Crofts*, jac' insimul inter regiam viam que ducit inter Sterbrigge et Worcester, ex parte orient', et parvum torrentem vocat' *Horestone Broke*, al' *Holy Broke*." Rental of Hagley, at Lord Lyttelton's, 23 Hen. VIII. *Horestone Brook* was "probably so denominated from a stone or rude pillar erected near it by the victorious Britons; it not being the practice of the Romans to erect such pillars." So says Dr. Nash, (from Bishop Lyttelton's MSS.) i. p. 486, where a farm called *Harborow*, with certain tumuli near it, is previously mentioned, (its name "being a Saxon compound of *Here*, exercitus, and *Berie*, campus,") as the supposed scene of an engagement, traditionally said to have taken place between the Romans and the Britons.

YORKSHIRE. The Abbey of St. Mary at York had a wood "quod vocatur Calengia," of which the boundaries were "ad *Haresteines* [misprinted *Harestemes*] et sic usque ad Depedale." Stevens's *Monasticon*, ii. App. LXX.

Gearstones near Ribble Head, on the borders of Craven. Whitaker's Map.

The Devil's *Arrows* near Boroughbridge. "Those famous pyramids call'd the Devil's Arrows (says the learned Roger Gale) stand near the Erming Street. If they were "HERMÆ, as I see no reason to doubt but they were, they will be a strong argument that the *Erming Street* took its course that way, and no weak confirmation of the great Mr. Selden's conjecture, who derives that name from *Irmunsull*." Essay on the Roman Ways, at the end of Leland. Itin. vi. p. 135.

"A piece of a rock called the *Hurkeling Stone*, which forms the boundary between Broomhead Moor and Agden." *Archæologia*, v. p. 93.

SCOTLAND.

The *Hare Stane* at Edinburgh. Marmion, notes to Canto iv. The following extract from Maitland's History of that City, p. 506, will show

this Stone in connection with the tenure of an estate: "The proprietor of the lands of Pennycuick is obliged, whenever the King comes into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to receive his Majesty at the *Harestone*, (now erected in the park-wall, almost opposite to the S. E. corner of the park-dike, at the end of Tipperlin Lone, near the Borough-moor head,) and standing thereon, give three blasts on a horn; whereby is held certain privileges belonging to the estate of Pennycuick."

"At *Hairstones* in Kirkurd parish, Peeblis-shire, there are the remains of a Druid temple or oratory, consisting of a number of large stones, standing in a circular form. Tradition still speaks of the *Hairstones* as a place of worship, rather than the scene of conflict." Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. p. 904.

WALES.

ANGLESEY. At Werthur, a farm in the parish of Amlwch, is a stone called *Maen-hir* Werthur.

A field near Brynshenkin, in Llanidan parish, is called *Maen-hir*.

BRECONSHIRE. A *Maen-hir* at Cwrt y gollen, near Crickhowel. "This stone (observes Mr. Jones, ii. part ii. p. 470.) appears to me to be set up by one of the princes of Gwent, and a prince or lord of Brecon, to mark the boundary between the two counties." It is wonderful that this opinion did not lead Mr. Jones to the true etymology of the word.

A *Maen-hir* between Penmiarth house and the river Usk. Ibid. p. 502.

A *Maen-hir* on Gilstone Farm at Llanfigan. Ibid. p. 593.

CARMARTHENSHIRE. *Meineu-gwyr*, on a mountain near Kil-y-maen lhwyd. Gibson's Camden.

CARDIGANSHIRE. *Meineu-hirion* near Neuodh. Ibid.

CARNARVONSHIRE. *Meineu-hirion*, in the parish of Dwy Gyvylcheu. Ibid.

A *Maen-gwyr* near Capel Kirig. Ibid.

GLAMORGANSHIRE. A *Maen-hir* on a mountain near Caerphilly. Ibid.

MERIONETHSHIRE. *Meineu-hirion* in Llanbedr parish.

The Cambrian Register for 1795, in a list of places in this county, p. 304, mentions "*Meini Gwyr* Ardudwy, the stones of the men of Ardudwy." Lhwyd in his communications to Gibson's Camden, col. 790, calls them

"*Bed-heu Gwyr Ardudwy*, i. e. the *graves* of the men of Ardudwy," and from his description it seems probable that they were early sepulchral monuments, though not less likely, on that account, to become the termini of later times; for the Hoar-stone at Duntresbourne, co. Gloucester, already mentioned, is fixed upon an ancient sepulchral tumulus; and a barrow in Norfolk "is actually the boundary mark of the three parishes of Aylsham, Burgh, and Tutington." *Archæologia*, xvi. p. 355. See also the previous remarks on Enstone War-stone in Oxfordshire.

PEMBROKESHIRE. A *Maen-hir* near Fynnon Druidion. Fenton, p. 24.

Meini-hirion near Garnvawr. Ibid. p. 26.

A stone pitched on end on the farm of *Haroldstone*. Ibid. 158.

Mr. Fenton thinks it "rather remarkable that there should be so many places called Harold-stone, or at least with Harold prefixed, in this county."

"Beyond St. Dogwell's, turning north, the manor [of Renaston] extends to a great stone, called the *Horestone*." Ibid. p. 337.

An upright stone upon a tumulus "in a field on Stackpool demesne, known by the name of *Horestone* Park, perhaps a corruption of Haroldstone." Ibid. p. 417.

III. *Observations on the circumstances which occasioned the Death of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; in a Letter from JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A. to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer.*

Read 24th November, 1831.

Francis-street, Golden-square, September 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

FEW men have suffered the extreme penalty of the law under circumstances more calculated to arouse general commiseration, than those which attended the death of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. It has nevertheless happened, that whilst the most trifling circumstances relating to his illustrious companion in misfortune have been dwelt upon with great minuteness, the fall of Fisher has not been investigated with any thing like a proportionable diligence. The chief reason for this marked difference may be found, I imagine, in the personal character of Sir Thomas More, compounded as it was of qualities more showy and attractive than the meek and Christian virtues of Bishop Fisher. The discrepancies and contradictions in the accounts of the proceedings against Fisher given by our best historians^a are so numerous, that I have thought a careful statement of the circumstances which accompanied his fall, partly derived from MSS. which do not appear to have been printed, would probably be acceptable to

^a The acts of parliament and other legal matters mixed up with the question seem to have confounded most of our historical writers. Many have shunned the question of Fisher's legal crime altogether; several have imagined that he was executed in pursuance of one of the acts of attainder against him, although they were merely for misprision of treason; and others have attributed his conviction to a refusal to take the oath of supremacy, which had no existence until the 1st year of Elizabeth. It would be an ungracious task to trace these errors home, or they might be assigned to names of considerable celebrity.

you, and if you think the matter of sufficient general interest to merit the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, you will oblige me by submitting the following remarks to their notice.

It is well known that Fisher was a zealous defender of the Roman Catholic Church against the attacks of the Lutherans. He wrote against the new opinions with spirit and acuteness, and backed his arguments with the weighty evidence of an irreproachable and untainted life. In an age by no means distinguished either for morality or learning, he was at once eminent for virtue and respectable as a scholar. That he was an encourager of learning in others is well proved by his patronage of Erasmus,^b and his assiduity in the foundation of Christ's and St. John's Colleges in Cambridge, the Lady Margaret's professorships, and other scholastic endowments; and his personal affection for literature may be inferred from his collecting one of the best libraries in England,^c and also from his undertaking the study of Greek when the knowledge of that language was revived in England, although he was then upwards of 60 years of age.^d

His appointment to the Bishopric of Rochester arose out of some compunctious visitings of conscience in Henry VII. who, in writing to his mother the Countess of Richmond, confesses "that in his days he had promoted many a man unadvisedly," and "I wolde now," he proceeds, "make some recompencon to promote some good and vertuouse men;" and therefore he wishes to appoint her confessor Master Fisher "for non other cause but for the grate and singular virtue that I know and se in hym as well in conyng and natural wisdom, and specially for his good and vertuouse lyving."^e

Fisher's reputation was equivalent to his merit. Henry VIII. held him in peculiar esteem, and inquired of Cardinal Pole whether in all his travels

^b Butler's *Life of Erasmus*, pp. 65, 118. *Erasmi Epist.* p. 353. ed. Lond. 1642.

^c Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 17, "He had the notablest library of books in all England, two long galleries full. The books were sorted in stalls, and a register of the names of every book at the end of every stall."

^d *Erasmi Epist.* 522, 526.

^e See the Letter in the Appendix to "the Funeral Sermon of Margaret Countess of Richmond." Ed. 1708, p. 41.

he had ever found a prelate of equal worth and ability with the Bishop of Rochester.^f

His friend and correspondent Erasmus makes frequent mention of him, and dwells with pleasure upon the blamelessness of his life, the peculiar kindness of his manners, his learning and noble-mindedness.^g

If judged by modern taste his sermons will be found to contain little that is attractive; but his contemporaries appear to have held his pulpit eloquence in high estimation. He preached upon the interment of the Countess of Richmond and of her son Henry VII. He was appointed to preach before Henry VIII. upon receipt of tidings of the victory of Flodden; ^h he preached at St. Paul's Cross upon the public condemnation of Luther's doctrines, on the 12th May 1521,ⁱ and is mentioned as the preacher upon several other peculiar and solemn occasions.

It appears in the volume of State Papers lately published,^k that upon the first whisper of the meditated divorce between Henry and Katherine, Fisher, although unwilling to interfere, was applied to by the Queen for advice. He was afterwards one of her counsellors upon the hearing before the Legate at Black Fryars,^l and in that character first drew upon himself the displeasure of the King. The opposition, which there can be no doubt he offered conscientiously, against Henry's subsequent proceedings, not merely eradicated the King's former feeling of affection for him, but even increased his displeasure into dislike and hatred. In the convocation and afterwards in the parliament, although almost alone, Fisher was a strenuous opponent to every measure which tended "to break the bonds of Rome," and, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, appears to have maintained the contest eloquently and with vigour.

Fisher's constant opposition must have rendered him exceedingly troublesome to a Court little accustomed to have its measures thwarted, and the case of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun or Maid of Kent, was laid hold of by the King's advisers as affording an opportunity at any event of silencing if not of crushing him.

^f Apol. Pol. p. 95, quoted in Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 274. Second edit.

^g Erasmi Epist. p. 96, 515, 516.

^h Lord Herbert, p. 40.

ⁱ Cott. MS. Vitellius, B. iv. fol. 111.

^k P. 198.

^l Hall, p. 758, edit. 1809.

The crime of Elizabeth Barton consisted in assuming the character of a prophetess, and denouncing impending judgments against the King.^m She declared that it had been revealed to her that the Almighty was displeased with the King, that if he proceeded with the divorce and married again he should be no longer King, that in the estimation of God he should not be King one hour, and that he should die a villain's death. Her prophetic career continued for several years, the exercise of her gift being by no means confined to political subjects, but extending to matters of a very miscellaneous and unimportant character. The paroxysm of a convulsive fit was the moment of her pretended inspiration, and she then uttered her insane predictions, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, and either in her own chamber with a few favoured hearers, or prostrate in a church before a multitude of eager listeners congregated together by previous appointment. Some ecclesiastics who found their account in her celebrity encouraged her in the opinion that she was divinely inspired, and sedulously extended her fame. Books were composed concerning her, a letter written in golden characters, which she was said to have received from Mary Magdalen, was exhibited to the faithful, and the Holy Maid of Kent, and the image of the Virgin in the Chapel of Court att Street, which she honoured with her peculiar regard, were objects of universal wonder and veneration.

In the opening of her prophetic career she was introduced to Wolsey and also to the King, and afterwards, when the divorce seemed determined upon, and the breach with Rome was becoming inevitable, her political prophecies were used for party purposes, and reported to Queen Katherine, to the Pope's envoys, and the heads of the Catholic party. Amongst others to whom they were communicated were Fisher and Sir Thomas More. We are so prone to forget that men's conduct should be estimated by the opinions and manners of their contemporaries, that we may feel surprise that men like these could ever have seriously listened to the delirious ravings of such a pretender to inspiration. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that a belief in extraordinary spiritual influences and revelations was then a

^m Hall, p. 803. His account is taken from the Act of Parliament by which she was attainted.

portion of the general creed, and nothing proves the fact more clearly than that some of the wisest men of the time gave attention and credit to this poor half-witted woman. More addressed a letter to her,ⁿ in which he styled her "right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God," and in a letter to Cromwell, he admits that he had "a great good opinion" of her, and had her "in great estimation," although in the same letter he mentions that she told him that the devil haunted her in the shape of a bird, which, when caught, turned out to be, as might be expected, "a very strange ugly-fashioned bird," so that "they were all afraid and threw him out at a window."^o

The prophecies of Barton were first taken notice of by the government in 1533, and after an investigation by Cranmer, Cromwell, and Hugh Latimer, then a priest, the Maid and her chief supporters were, in November, brought before "a very great assembly and Council of the Lords of the Realm," in the Star Chamber, and upon confession were sentenced ^p to "stand at Paules Crosse, wher thei with their awne handes should severally deliver, eche of them, to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaring their subtle, craftie, and superstitious doynge. Which thyng the next Sondaie after they all above rehearsed, standyng on a stage at Paule's Crosse made for that purpose, did accomlishe." After this exhibition the culprits were conveyed to the Tower, and confined there without further proceedings until the next parliament.

The fact that Fisher and More had had some intercourse with the Maid having transpired, either upon the preliminary inquiry, or in the Star Chamber, Cromwell, at that time Secretary of State, dispatched Fisher's brother to him with a message of "heavy words" and "terrible threats" against him, advising him to write to the king a letter of submission, and crave pardon for his offences.

Instead of adopting this advice, Fisher wrote to Cromwell a letter, in which he justified his conduct, and declined to ask pardon for offences which he was ignorant of having committed. I am not aware that this letter is in

ⁿ Roper's More, Appendix, p. 106. Singer's edit.

^o Ibid.

^p Hall, p. 806.

existence, but its contents may be gathered from a long answer to it by Cromwell, which is printed by Burnet from a draft amongst the Cotton MSS.⁹

The accusations brought by Cromwell against Fisher were, that he had heard and concealed the Maid's pretended political prophesies, and had kept up an intercourse with her, by several times sending his chaplains to her. It is difficult to conceive what legal crime could be justly imputed to Fisher, even supposing these accusations were true. Elizabeth Barton's contemporaries allowed the possibility of such an inspiration as she laid claim to, and the duty of a good man was therefore confined to the satisfaction of his conscience, by an examination of the evidence upon which the possession of the gift was sought to be established. This is the rule by which to judge of Fisher's conduct, and by which he endeavoured to justify himself. He admitted that he had heard of her prophesies, that he put any faith in them does not appear, but it is sufficiently evident that he entertained a very favourable opinion of the Nun, and perhaps was inclined to attribute to her some supernatural power. The general opinion of her sanctity; a belief that the ecclesiastics by whom she was surrounded, and who spoke loudly of her great holiness, were learned and religious men; the representations of Archbishop Warham, who believed in her visions and had spoken to Fisher concerning them; her own conduct during Fisher's interviews with her; and her answers to the questions he propounded to her by way of trial and examination, were the foundations of his good opinion or belief, whichever of them it ought to be called. That his inquiries did not lead to a discovery of the alleged fraud, and were not such as Cromwell considered proper for ascertaining the truth, ought certainly not to be imputed to him as crimes. His own personal satisfaction was his object, and in such a pursuit the judgment of any other man ought not to be the standard of right and wrong.

The most serious accusation against Fisher was, that he concealed these prophesies from the King. His answer was, that the Nun told him that she had herself communicated to the King what had been revealed to her, which he, knowing she had been with the King, believed to be true, and which

⁹ Cleop. E. iv. fol. 85*. Burnet's Appendix, vol. i. p. 123.

was not stated to be otherwise. He also alleged that she spoke not of any evil that was to befall the King, other than by the ordinary visitations of Providence. These two points seem satisfactorily to get rid of the anomalous charge of improperly concealing a prophesy, but it may fairly be questioned whether the prophesies were not matter of public notoriety, and therefore incapable of concealment. If they were to be used for political purposes a considerable degree of notoriety was necessary to secure their end, and the act of attainder of Elizabeth Barton^r recites that Bocking and Dering "made, writ, and caused to be written, sondry books, bothe great and small, bothe printed and written," concerning Barton's revelations, and afterwards expressly states that the obnoxious revelations concerning the King were "written and expressed in the said bokes and volumes." How a charge could even be brought against Fisher for concealing that which was thus openly declared to the world, and above all, how such a charge could be introduced into an act of parliament which contains the statements I have quoted, seems not a little surprising.

The parliament met on the 15th January 1534, and it would seem that Fisher was particularly urged to attend by Cromwell, who in all probability informed him, that a bill was about to be introduced in which he would have a personal interest. Fisher was then at Rochester confined by illness, and on the 28th of January wrote to Cromwell a letter of excuse, which may be found amongst the Cotton MSS.^s It does not appear to have been printed, and I shall therefore insert it in an Appendix.^t It is couched in very humble terms, informs Cromwell that he was labouring under an illness which had then lasted six weeks, and assures him that, if he could see in what plight he was, he would have some pity upon him.^u

This letter seems to have been answered very speedily, for on the 31st January there is another letter from Fisher to Cromwell, which not having been

^r Stat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

^s Vespasian, F. xiii. fol. 154 b.

^t Appendix, I.

^u The compiler of the Cott. Catalogue appears to have had some doubt as to this letter. I imagine it is indisputable that the signature is that of Fisher, and the body of the letter agrees in the character of the hand-writing with other documents signed by Fisher.

printed, I have also placed in the Appendix.^x There is something very striking in the quiet, melancholy style in which this letter is written. He entreats that he may not be further called upon to answer Cromwell's letters, as he finds it altogether useless to do so, every thing he writes being attributed either to craft, or wilfulness, or to affection, or to unkindness against his sovereign. In allusion to some expressions in his former letter concerning the divorce, which had displeased the King, he says, "my study and purpose was specially to decline, that I should not be straited to offend his grace in that behalf, for then I must needs declare my conscience, the which, as then I wrote, I would be loth to do any more largely than I have done. Not that I condemn any other men's conscience, their conscience may save them, and mine must save me. Wherefore, good master Cromwell, I beseech you, for the love of God, be contented with this mine answer."

Cromwell's message to Fisher by his brother, and his subsequent letters, evince a very evident desire that Fisher should confess himself culpable, and submit to the mercy of the King, with an assurance of pardon if he would do so. Had he adopted this course it would have destroyed his freedom of action, and have rendered him incapable of offering any future opposition to the measures of the Court. It may be supposed that this was Cromwell's aim. Mr. Southey remarks^y that "the Bishop's persistance in refusing to do this was plainly a matter of obstinacy, not of conscience." It is a pity that a doctrine so dangerous should have so able an advocate. Fisher's conscience does not appear to have been of the pliable character then fashionable at Court, but his life and death attest its power over him, and it is indeed an extraordinary assertion that a man is to be denounced as obstinate, because, at the summons of a Secretary of State, and upon a promise of pardon, he did not acknowledge himself guilty of an undefined offence, of the commission of which his own conscience did not accuse him.

On the 21st of February^z a bill of attainder against Barton and her associates was introduced into the House of Lords. She and the Ecclesias-

^x Cleopatra E. vi. fol. 161. Appendix, II.

^y Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 43.

^z Lords' Journals, i. p. 68.

tics who had spread abroad her pretended prophecies, were by this bill proposed to be declared guilty of high treason ; and Fisher, More, and the others who, having had " knowledge of the said revelations had made concealment thereof, and uttered not the same to the King nor any of his Council," were to be attainted of misprision of treason, to suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and forfeit all their personals.

Fisher being still confined by illness wrote to the Lords an able letter of justification, recapitulating much of the matter he had stated to Cromwell, and appealing to them that " as he never gave her any counsel in the matter, nor knew of any forging or feigning thereof, their great wisdoms would not think any default in him." This letter remains in MS. and is printed, but in some passages erroneously, in Collier's Ecclesiastical History.^a

The bill was read a first time on the 21st of February, the day of its introduction, and again a second time on the 26th of February.^b On the 27th Fisher wrote to the King supplicating that he would " dismiss him from the trouble " which this bill occasioned to him. This letter is inserted in the Appendix,^c and as a composition of considerable interest and merit will well repay the trouble of perusal. It forcibly brings before us the rough and overbearing manner in which Henry was accustomed to treat his counsellors. In connection with this very bill against Elizabeth Barton, and to persuade the King to withdraw the name of Sir Thomas More out of it, Cranmer, the Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell, were unable to succeed until " upon their knees most humbly they besought him ; " ^d at an after period of his life, in reproving the Chancellor Wriothesley, he termed him " a knave, fool, and beast, and bade him get out of his sight ; " ^e and this letter of Fisher, although it does not detail the particulars, proves that the " grievous letters and fearful words " which the King used towards Fisher when he had the honesty to express his opinion concerning the divorce, made no trifling impression upon the prelate.

^a Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 166. Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. p. 87.

^b Lords' Journals, i. p. 69.

^c Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 102. Appendix, III.

^d Roper's More, p. 68.

^e Burnet, vol. i. p. 345.

On the 6th of March the bill was read a third time.^f More had in the mean time requested to be heard in his defence, and the Lords, out of respect to the man whose eloquence had so lately guided and enlightened them, directed inquiry to be made whether it squared with the King's mind that More and all those who were sought to be attainted of misprision of treason, should be examined in the Star Chamber to hear what they could say for themselves, with the exception of the Bishop of Rochester, whose answer had been received by letter. The particulars of what occurred may be seen in Roper's *Life of More*.^g The only result of this honourable and uncourtly scruple was, that the name of More was withdrawn from the Bill, and on the 12th of March it was read a fourth time and passed by the Lords.^h On the 17th March, having been expedited through the House of Commons, it was returned to the Lords. On the 20th it was delivered to the Chancellor, whether for engrossment or for what other purpose does not appear. He brought it back on the 21st, and I suppose the royal assent was given to it, according to the practice then usual, on the 30th March, when the King attended and put an end to the session. The Act is the 25th Henry VIII. cap. 12. It is needless to dwell upon the manifest injustice and breach of constitutional forms which distinguished the whole of this proceeding. It was the opening of a fearful tragedy, the turning of a page in our history which reflects equal disgrace upon the malignity of the King and the cold-hearted suppleness of his advisers. That the King could obliterate the memory of former kindness, and close his heart against the entreaties of an infirm man who had long served his father and himself, whose pretended fault had been committed without fraud, and was followed by no evil consequences, and who in his extreme age declares that he merely sought "to prepare his soul to God, and to make it ready against the coming of death, and no more to come abroad into the world,"ⁱ is a proof how rapidly he was descending into the state of ferocious tyranny which distinguished the after portion of his life.

^f *Lords' Journals*, i. p. 72.

^h *Journals*, i. p. 74, 76, 77, 78.

^g P. 63, Singer's edit.

ⁱ Appendix, III.

The same parliament which passed this act of attainder distinguished itself by placing upon the Statute Book the first of those instances of legislative folly by which the succession of the Crown was endeavoured to be secured by the force of strange oaths and the creation of new treasons. By the Statute of 25 Henry VIII. cap. 22, it was enacted that the marriage of Henry and Katherine was against the law of God, and void; and that the process before Cranmer, and his sentence of separation were lawful, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation for the marriage, which was declared void. It was also enacted that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was lawful, and that no one could dispense with God's laws so as to render marriages within the Levitical degrees valid. By the fourth section power was given to the Ecclesiastical Courts to dissolve all such marriages, notwithstanding they might have been sanctioned by the Pope's dispensation. The throne was then settled upon Henry and his issue by Anne, and, after many enactments equally repugnant to the feelings and consciences of the Catholics, it was in conclusion enacted that every person by the commandment of the King should make an oath 'to maintain that act,' and all who refused to take such an oath should be held guilty of misprision of treason. When the King went to prorogue the parliament the Lords and Commons then present "most lovingly accepted and took such oath as was then devised,"^k and a commission was directed to the Chancellor, Cranmer, and the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, empowering them to administer the oath to all other persons, according to a form then prescribed, and which was annexed to the commission. The oath thus prescribed, it may be remarked, goes very far beyond the direction of the Statute, which seems to authorize a mere general oath to maintain the objects of the Act, whereas the form entered in the Journals embraces a variety of particulars as to the succession to the throne.

Soon after the close of the session the Commissioners required Fisher and many other ecclesiastics, together with Sir Thomas More, to appear before them and take the oath. The place appointed was the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, and there on the 13th of April, 1534, they appeared.^l They

^k Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 2. Lords' Journals, i. 82.

^l Strype's Cranmer, p. 26. Roper's More, p. 122.

were called in before the Commissioners singly, and all we know of the interview, as far as Fisher is concerned, is its result. Fisher and More refused to take the oath tendered to them, and which was probably the same as was taken by the parliament; but both offered to swear to such portion of it as concerned the succession. They admitted that the parliament had a right to make such alterations in the descent of the Crown as were thought proper; but neither of them would allow the invalidity of the King's first marriage, the legality of the divorce, or of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Their refusal appears to have been unanticipated; and, in order to obtain time to consider, and perhaps to consult with the King as to what course should be adopted, the Commissioners remanded them for four days. More was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster; Fisher's place of detention does not appear. The 17th of April was the day appointed for their re-appearance, and on that day we find Cranmer writing to Cromwell from Croydon, referring to what had taken place on the former meeting, and urging the propriety of accepting their qualified oath.^m When Cranmer's advice was on the side of mercy it was often its fate to be unsuccessful, and it was so on the present occasion. The prisoners persisted in their refusal, and were both committed to the Tower.

On the next day Rowland Lee, then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, visited Fisher in the Tower, and on quitting him wrote a hasty note to Cromwell, which is printed in Strype's *Cranmer*.ⁿ It shows the nature of the concessions Fisher was willing to make, and presents a striking picture of the condition of the man who was thus suddenly doomed to a rigorous imprisonment. "He is," says Lee, "as ye left him, ready to take the oath for the succession, and to swear never to meddle more in disputation of the validity of the matrimony, or invalidity, with the Lady Dowager, but that utterly to refuse. For as for the case of the prohibition Levitical, his conscience is so knit that he cannot send it off from him whatsoever betide him. And yet he will and doth profess his allegiance to our Sovereign Lord the King during his life." Such were his opinions; now mark how worthy a

^m Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 181. Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, p. 14.

ⁿ Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 165. Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, p. 13.

victim these lenient men had selected : "truly the man is nigh going, and doubtless cannot continue unless the King and his Council be merciful unto him. For the body cannot bear the clothes on his back, as God knoweth !" Fisher's bodily strength disappointed the expectation of his enemies. Sickness and age appear to have relaxed their virulence, and resigned the old man to the more certain vengeance of his persecutors.

The Statute of 25 Henry VIII. c. 22, in describing the nature of the oath to be taken by the people, enacted, that it should be an oath "truly, firmly, and constantly, without fraud or guile, to observe, fulfill, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of that act." The Lord Chancellor and Mr. Cromwell, however, says Roper,^o "did of their own heads add more words unto it, to make it appear to the King's ears more pleasant and plausible, and that oath so amplified caused they to be administered to Sir Thomas More, and to all other throughout the realm." A proceeding more palpably illegal can scarcely be imagined ; but Roper's account is borne out by indisputable authority. One result of this amplification was, that the imprisonment of More and Fisher, so far as it depended upon their refusal to take the amplified oath, was of course altogether illegal. The penalty inflicted by the Statute attached upon the refusal to take an oath of a particular description ; the amplified oath was not such an oath, and therefore that penalty did not attach upon the refusal to take it. An objection so entirely technical, one would have thought beneath the notice of the King's unscrupulous advisers, but they seem to have been influenced by the common weakness of endeavouring to give their injustice the sanction of legal forms, and as soon as the Parliament assembled, a bill was passed to remedy the defect.^p After reciting the former statute, and that the Lords and Commons upon the last prorogation had taken, not the oath directed by the statute, but "such oath as was then devised," it was declared, that they meant and intended, that all the King's subjects should be bound to accept the same oath, "the tenour" of which, but not a copy of it, was then given in the form of an oath, and it was enacted that this new oath should be adjudged

^o Roper's More, p. 74.

^p 26 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

to be the very oath that the Parliament meant and intended should be taken, and, upon the refusal to take which, the penalties denounced by the former act accrued. A more atrocious and blundering instance of *ex post facto* legislation than this can scarcely be pointed out. Here are three oaths, one described by the former statute; a second, which was taken by the Parliament at its prorogation; and a third contained in this last act of Parliament. All three oaths are different, and yet it is declared that the Parliament meant the second when they legislated concerning the first; that they meant the third when they took the second; and it is enacted that penalties imposed for not taking the first have been incurred by refusing to take the third. In this manner it was imagined that an appearance of legality was given to the confinement of Fisher and his fellow-prisoner. It seems probable, however, that the second oath was the one tendered to them, and if so the Statute after all left their case untouched.

We are indebted to the same wise Parliament which passed this Statute for many other legislative curiosities. Their first act^q declared that the King was the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and "for increase of virtue in Christ's religion" it was enacted that he should have "as well the title and style thereof," as all privileges "to the said dignity belonging."

The thirteenth act^r of the same session enacted that if any person, after the first day of February next coming, should maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt, any bodily harm to the King, Queen, or heir-apparent, or to deprive them of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates, every such person should be guilty of high treason. It is to the credit of the House of Commons that, pliant as they had hitherto shown themselves, they were in some degree roused by the proposition of this enactment. We learn from a document, which I have given in the Appendix,^s a fact which I think has not hitherto been noticed, that "when this act was in hand in the Common House, because it was thought by divers of the said House that no man lightly might beware of the penaltie of the said Statute, therefore there was much sticking at the same in the Common House," and the act was not allowed to pass until it was added that the said words should be spoken "maliciously."

^q 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

^r Ibid. cap. 13.

^s Appendix, VI.

The chicanery of the judges rendered the humanity of the Commons unavailable, by declaring when, upon the trials of Fisher and More, they came to construe the Statute, that the word "maliciously" was but a superfluous and void word, "for," said these sages, "if a man speak against the King's Supremacy by any manner of means, that speaking is to be understood and taken in law as maliciously."¹ The infamy of this construction is aggravated a hundredfold by a knowledge of the intention of the Commons.

The 22d act^a of this same Parliament is a second attainder against Fisher, passed without hearing him in his defence, and possibly even without his knowledge. It recites that the oath directed to be taken by the Statute of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22 was tendered to Fisher since the 1st of May then last, and that he refused to take it, and enacts that he should be therefore attainted of misprision of treason, with forfeiture of his effects from the 1st day of March then last, and that the see of Rochester should be held vacant from the 2d day of January then next.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of punishing an offence committed on the 1st of May by a forfeiture from the 1st of March preceding, this Statute certainly gave a legislative sanction to the imprisonment of Fisher, and by depriving him of his property and his Bishopric placed him altogether at the mercy of the Court. It might have been expected that the King would have been satisfied with his humiliation, the extinction of his political power, and his confinement during pleasure. But the anger of Henry VIII. was seldom appeased by anything but blood. If the misery of his victim could have sufficed, his satisfaction would in Fisher's case have been ample, for a more pitiable picture than is presented of his condition in a letter written to Cromwell a few days before Christmas 1534, can scarcely be imagined. Part of this letter was published by Strype,^x and a further part of it may be found in Bayley's History of the Tower,^y and in the Biographia Brit. art. Fisher, but as all these publications are in some degree inaccurate, and the entire letter has not perhaps been published, I have placed it in the Appendix.^z

¹ Howell's State Trials, vol. i. p. 401.

^x Strype's Cranmer, p. 13, Appendix.

^z Appendix, IV.

^a Authentic edit. of the Stats. vol. iii. p. 527.

^y Bayley's Hist. Tower, vol. i. p. 136.

Fisher was confined in the Tower for fourteen months, and received the severe treatment which was then the common lot of state prisoners. The Lieutenant's charge for his maintenance was twenty shillings per week,^a but the diet with which he was provided was, as he terms it, "so slender," that, having no means himself, his brother supplied the deficiency "out of his own purse," and "to his great hindrance."^b About the commencement of 1535 his brother died, and then Fisher, being "in great need," was indebted to the bounty of his friends at Cambridge and elsewhere. The description which he gives^c of his ragged and rent clothes, which he says he would not have complained of if they would have protected him from the cold, has been often quoted. In the same letter he humbly entreated, but probably without success, to be allowed a priest to hear his confession, and also to be permitted to borrow some religious books. Bad as his treatment was, it does not seem to have been worse than ordinary; the charge for his board, indeed, however slenderly he was provided, was as much as that for any one of the prisoners mentioned in the paper from which I have obtained the information, and far more than for most of them,^d and in other respects his usage was quite in keeping with that of More and the Duke of Norfolk, the latter of whom gave a description of his confinement in a paper to be found in Lord Herbert.^e Fisher, however, was a man upon whom imprisonment was likely to produce its worst effects. His life had been one of constant and considerable occupation and activity, and a fondness for field sports, or at any event for coursing, is noticed amongst his peculiarities.^f The pleasures of the table were not much considered by him, but with a view to the preservation of health he had been accustomed to a spare and regular diet. "He never sat fully one hour to dinner."^g In eating or drinking he limited himself to some precise quantities, which were measured and weighed out for him. He was punctual in taking his

^a Cott. MSS. Titus, B. 1. fol. 155.

^b Appendix, IV.

^c Ibid.

^d The charge for the "bord-wages" of Sir Thomas More and his Servant was fifteen shillings per week, to pay which his wife states, in a letter to Cromwell, that she had been "compelled of verey necesayte to sell part of her apparell for lack of other substance to make money of." Howard's Collection of Letters, 4to. 1753, p. 271.

^e Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 566.

^f Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 207.

^g Ibid. p. 16.

meals at certain particular hours, so that in travelling from Rochester to London, "because the time of his refection was come, he took his dinner upon the top of Shooter's Hill, his servants standing round about him."^h Doubtless these peculiar habits were little regarded during his confinement, and their interruption was certainly calculated to aggravate his maladies; at any event he was ill almost all the time he was in the Tower: and notwithstanding Henry, with a strange affectation of humanity, caused him to be attended by his own physician at an expense it is said of forty pounds,ⁱ he was so weakly at the period of his execution as scarcely to be able to crawl from his prison in the Bell Tower to Tower Hill, so that a chair was carried at his side on which he rested thrice on the way.^k

During his imprisonment he was permitted to receive a letter from his friend Erasmus^l after it had been inspected by Cromwell, and he also found means, through a servant of the Lieutenant of the Tower named George, to communicate with Sir Thomas More. It seems not unlikely that George was a mere spy, at any event the passing of these letters became known to the government, and excited considerable attention. They have also been lately alluded to by Mr. Turner,^m and made a groundwork of the theory by which he seeks to palliate the deaths of Fisher and More. More's statement of the contents of these letters given on his trial is already known,ⁿ and in one of the papers in my Appendix^o will be found Fisher's account of them upon oath. Between the two it pretty clearly appears how much treason they contained. They seem to have been mere letters of inquiry, each of them wishing to know the answers which the other had made to the council; Fisher, indeed, went a little further, and with a kindly feeling communicated to More the account he had heard of the insertion of the word "maliciously" in the Statute. The writing of these letters appears to have been made an article of charge against More, but as to Fisher I think I can show pretty clearly it was not so.

^h Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 17.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 21.

^k Ibid. p. 15 b.

Appendix, VI.

^m Hist. of Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 382, 390.

ⁿ Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. vol. ii. p. 204. More's Life of More, Hunter's edit. p. 260. State Papers, vol. i. p. 434.

^o Appendix, VI.

For the credit of St. John's College, Cambridge, it ought not to be unnoticed, that in this time of danger they were mindful of the benefits Fisher had conferred upon them. During his imprisonment the Master and some of the Fellows are said to have waited upon him several times, and Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary, tells us that "several things" are entered upon the College Books for his use and service.^p There is also amongst the Baker MSS. a copy^q of what Baker very justly terms "a noble letter" transmitted to Fisher by the College, in which, after acknowledging that they were indebted to him for maintenance, for learning, and for every good they possessed or knew, they besought him to use whatever they had as his own, and proceeded in a strain of strong and highly honourable feeling, "Tuum est eritque quicquid possumus. Tui omnes sumus erimusque toti. Tu nostrum es 'decus et presidium,' tu nostrum es caput ut necessario quæcunque te mala attingant ea nobis veluti membris subjectis acerbiter inferant."

I now arrive at the concluding and most important portion of my subject. By the Act of 25th Henry VIII. cap. 12, Fisher was attainted of misprision of treason, and subjected to a forfeiture of his personal estate, and imprisonment for life, for his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's prophecies; on the 13th April 1534 he was committed to custody for refusing to take the oath to the succession tendered to him at Lambeth; on the 17th of April, upon a repetition of his refusal, he was committed to the Tower; and by the 26th of Henry VIII. cap. 22, his refusal was punished by a second attainder of misprision of treason and a deprivation of his bishopric. Hitherto the proceedings against him had not affected his life; we are now to consider what was the subsequent crime which brought to the scaffold an old man already bowed down by infirmities, a prisoner for life, stripped of his property, and deprived of the episcopal dignity, which gave him consideration in the State, and an opportunity of opposing the measures of the Court in the House of Lords.

During Fisher's confinement in the Tower he was visited several times by

^p Harl. MS. No. 7028, p. 111.

^q Ibid. No. 7030, p. 230.

the Lords of the Council. Their first visit occurred after he had been but a few weeks in the Tower, and was made apparently for the purpose of giving him an opportunity of recanting his refusal to take the oath to the succession. I imagine this visit to have taken place about the 1st of May 1534, the day after which, according to the second act of attainder against him, the oath to the succession was tendered to him for the last time. In the interval between this and their next visit, which occurred on the 30th of April 1535, there had been the session of Parliament of the 26th of Henry VIII. during which were passed the statute which conferred upon Henry the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and that "which made words treason." Upon their second visit, we are told, the Lords of the Council "were sent to know his opinion touching the Statute of Supreme Head;" a sending which, it is not unimportant to remark, was entirely gratuitous, inasmuch as nothing in any act of Parliament authorised the Lords of the Council to inquire into the opinions of any one upon that subject. It seems that when these Lords began to interrogate Fisher as to the Supremacy, he, having heard "the act which made words treason" read over "once or twice," by his servant Wilson, immediately suspected that they had come for the purpose of entrapping him into some avowal which might be the occasion of further trouble to him. With that view he told them, that "the Statute did not compel any man to answer, and besought that he should not be constrained to make further or other answer than the Statute did bind him to make." A few days afterwards the Council were a third time at the Tower, and probably he was a second time interrogated with respect to his opinion upon the Statute of Supreme Head. I infer this from the circumstance, that Sir Thomas More, who was examined as well as Fisher upon the previous days, was examined a third time about the 4th of May 1535. Upon all these occasions both Fisher and More declined giving any opinion as to the Supremacy, and Fisher imagined that by this course he should escape the snare laid for him. On the 2d of June 1535, however, a special commission was issued for his trial on a charge of high treason. After the issuing of the commission, on the 12th of June, and again on the 14th, he was visited by some of the members of the Council, and subjected to further examinations upon interrogatories. The proceedings upon the

12th of June are to be found in the Appendix ;^r those on the 14th may be seen in the volume of State Papers lately published.^s On both these days he guardedly maintained his determination to abstain from answering any questions whereby, as he expressed it, " he might fall into the dangers of the Statutes."^t His conduct on these occasions would seem to intimate that he was ignorant of the manner in which he had already made himself amenable to the Statutes, and of the determination to try him. The real objects of these last two examinations are not clear to me, but such inquisitorial proceedings were so totally opposed to the spirit of the English Law, that it is scarcely possible to reason with certainty concerning them ; every step in these proceedings led their originators further from the forms as well as from the substance of justice. I can only suppose that these examinations were had recourse to for one of the following reasons ; either to give Fisher a final chance of escape by submission ; or to get from him some evidence to confirm the testimony against him ; or to obtain information which might be used as evidence against others. It is not improbable that the portion of his examination, which related to the letters which passed between Sir Thomas More and himself, was used against Sir Thomas on his trial.

In the course of three days after his last examination he was placed upon his trial ; found guilty of treason ; and was executed on the 22d of June 1535. This extraordinary proceeding against a man already deprived of every thing but life, was apparently one of such gratuitous cruelty, that, in

^r Appendix, No. VI. This document is copied from the original in the handwriting of John Ap Rice, the notary who was present at the examination. It is signed by Fisher at the bottom of every page, and it will be remarked that he still used his episcopal title, although by the Act of the 26th Henry VIII. cap. 22, he had been deprived of his see from the 2d of January preceding. This examination is a document of some interest, and will be found to be my authority for many of the facts I have stated. Annexed to one of Fisher's Letters (Cleopatra, E. vi. p. 172) is a series of answers to another set of interrogatories, all written by the Bishop himself in Latin. They seem to have reference chiefly to the authorship of some works respecting the divorce ; the handwriting, however, is to me so nearly illegible, that I have been able to acquire but a scanty knowledge of their contents. In early life Fisher was noted for the neatness of his writing, and some of his later letters are intelligible enough ; but this document was written, I suppose, during his sickness and imprisonment, which may account for its illegibility.

^s P. 431.

^t Ibid. p. 432.

the absence of all documents respecting the trial, and all authentic information as to the evidence against him, historians, who hold themselves bound to explain every thing, have suggested various reasons for its adoption. Those of the older authors, who trouble themselves with the causes of events, state distinctly, that Fisher's crime consisted in the denial of the supremacy, but without informing us how or when that denial took place. Dr. Baily, or rather Dr. Hall, is the only one who gives any thing like a detailed account of the transaction; and his violent partizanship has thrown a doubt around every thing he wrote. In his *Life of Fisher* he relates, that the Lords of the Council, having determined to release him from his "cold and painful imprisonment," and yet finding themselves unable to draw from him any opinion upon which to found a new accusation, employed Mr. Robert Rich, then lately Solicitor-general, and afterwards Lord Chancellor, to inveigle him into a conversation upon the subject of the Supremacy, under pretence that he was sent privately by the King, and for his especial information. The Bishop, or rather Dr. Fisher, for he was a Bishop no longer, could baffle a direct question, but was not proof against artifice. He incautiously declared that, in his opinion, the King, as a layman, neither was, nor rightfully could be, the Head of the Church; and for this avowal thus made, and, according to the statement of Dr. Hall, for no other cause, Fisher was brought to the scaffold upon the evidence of Rich. Hall's *Life of Fisher* is undoubtedly a book of no very great authority, and without some confirmatory testimony is not conclusive upon any point. I think, in this instance, Dr. Hall's authority may be corroborated by a good deal of collateral evidence, and that his book does not therefore deserve to be so entirely disregarded as it has been by some later authors. It seems clear that Rich was at the Tower about the day on which this conversation is stated to have taken place, being at that time sent to take away Sir Thomas More's books from him.^u The infamy of the conduct imputed to Rich does not afford any sufficient reason for supposing him incapable of it; he was a man of bad

^u Roper, p. 80. Roper does not mention the precise day; but it is clear that it was immediately after the second visit of the Lords of the Council to examine Fisher and More as to the Supremacy; and that appears, from Letters XI. and XII. in Roper's Appendix, to have been two or three days after the 4th of May.

character, and it is indisputable that a fraud of the same description was practised against Sir Thomas More by this very Rich, upon the occasion of this very same visit to the Tower. Again, the account is supported as to the words alleged to have been used, by the only document relative to the trial known to exist, and also by Lord Herbert. There is nothing certainly known from which we may infer whether Rich was employed by the Government to entrap Fisher and More, or not; it is not unlikely, that being sent to the Tower by the Council to take away More's books, he entered into conversation with both the prisoners, and afterwards communicated to the Council their confidential disclosures—if, indeed, More used the words attributed to him by Rich, which is very doubtful. The Council took advantage of Rich's baseness, and may therefore, with very little injustice, be suspected of having prompted it.

Some modern authors, who have written with a friendly feeling towards Henry, relying upon the absence of the documents relating to Fisher's trial, and choosing to disregard Dr. Hall's statement, have inferred that there must have existed some other reason for Fisher's "hard measure," than "the mere theoretical refusal to acknowledge the ecclesiastical chieftainship,"* and that he and More must have suffered upon accusations and convictions, of being abettors or participators in treasonable conspiracies. In support of these conjectures, advantage has been taken of a phrase of Lord Herbert's, that Fisher was put upon his trial "for divers points;"† but without sufficiently noticing that his Lordship, as if desirous that no one should build a theory upon his words, honestly adds, "the particulars of which I have not seen, but only that on the 7th of May last, in the Tower of London, before divers persons, he had falsely, maliciously, and traitorously said, 'the King is not Supreme Head of the Church of England.'" In alluding to the "divers points," Lord Herbert was therefore merely repeating the common rumour upon the subject; a rumour contradicted by the only document to which he had access.

Upon this point I am desirous of drawing attention to a MS. which is probably the very document Lord Herbert saw, but which since his time

* Turner's Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 387, 2d. edit.

† Lord Herbert, p. 392.

has not been sufficiently noticed. It occurs amongst the Cotton MSS. and is described in the Catalogue as "a censure of Bishop Fisher for not acknowledging the King's Supremacy;" but is in fact a copy of all the important part of his indictment; that part, namely, which charges the criminal conduct for which he was put upon his trial. It is written in the old Court hand, and seems as if it had been fairly copied from the indictment itself, by some person sufficiently acquainted with the nature of such a proceeding, to be able to extract merely its sum and substance, unburthened by the recitals of the acts of 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1, and 26 Henry VIII. cap. 13. These statutes were evidently contained in the original, and must have made it, what it is described to have been, "very long, and full of words." The only offence here charged is, that of having, in the Tower of London, on the 7th of May 1535, spoken the following words: "The King, our Sovereign Lord, is not Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England." In stating the offence which the speaking of these words constituted, all the verbiage of the Statute of 26 Henry VIII. cap. 13, is employed, and the crime is alleged to consist in their evidencing that the prisoner "falsely, maliciously, and traitorously wished, willed, and desired, and by craft imagined, invented, practised, and attempted, to deprive the King of the dignity, title, and name of his royal Estate, viz. of his dignity, title, and name of Supreme Head of the Church."

If this document is what I have described and believe it to be, the question, as to the legal crime for which Fisher suffered death, may be considered settled. Disgraceful as the fact is, I cannot see how we can escape from the persuasion, that the mere denial of the Supremacy, into which he was probably inveigled, and not any participation in treasonable plots or conspiracies, was the legal pretence for Fisher's execution. The document referred to is printed in the Appendix.*

The act of Parliament upon which this indictment was principally founded, is certainly of a most atrocious character, and evidences a state of society but little removed from actual barbarism; but the construction, by which the mere expression of an opinion upon a disputed point in theology,

* No. V.

was held to amount to a malicious and treasonable attempt to deprive the King of his title of Supreme Head, is, if possible, even more iniquitous than the Statute itself. Every principle of legislation was violated by the lawmakers, who created a treason out of men's wishes and desires, and not less violence was done to all rules of construction, by stretching the latitude of this highly penal Statute, so that not merely wishes and desires, but even opinions were comprehended within its fatal enactments. Every thing relating to the criminal proceedings of this period was so irregular; humanity and even honesty were so frequently absent from the judicial seats; the influence of the Monarch was so openly thrown into the scale by Judges who were the mere delegates of his vindictive spirit; there was so much anxiety to obtain a conviction, at whatever cost and by whatever means—that those who infer that Fisher could not have been convicted for the mere utterance of an opinion, because such a conviction would have been tyrannical and unjust, shew, I fear, a disposition to judge of the legal proceedings of the reign of Henry VIII. by the example of our own times, rather than by that which they themselves exhibit.

Many collateral arguments might be adduced in support of the authenticity of this extract from Fisher's indictment, but I will merely remark the confirmation it receives from another document in the same volume of Cotton MSS.^a This is a parchment erroneously described in the Catalogue as "a bill found against Bishop Fisher and James Whalworth for denying the King's Supremacy." It has in truth no other connection with Bishop Fisher than this, that it is a true bill found by a Grand Jury against John Rochester and James Whalworth, Carthusian Monks, for the very identical offence which, in the extract from the indictment against Fisher, is made the subject of charge against him. The denial of the Supremacy, and that alone, was the charge against these Monks, and if an extract were taken from their indictment of the part corresponding with the portion contained in the extract from Fisher's, the two would be found to agree in every essential particular. It is futile then to contend that there must have been other charges against Fisher, because "the single act of not acknow-

^a Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 904.

ledging the King's Supremacy was not high treason."b The "not acknowledging" the Supremacy was not the charge against Fisher; but we have seen in what manner the expression of an opinion against the Supremacy could be distorted into high treason, and we here find a complete indictment for the very same offence, and in which this very denial constitutes the only charge. Upon the trial of More the doctrine was actually carried to the extent denied to be law by Mr. Turner; for in his indictment it was one of the charges against him from which treason was to be inferred, that, when interrogated respecting the Supremacy, "he maliciously held his tongue."c

A reason for the harsh proceedings against Fisher, which has been very commonly insisted upon, is that his injudicious appointment by the Pope to the dignity of the purple, "alarmed the government" and awakened the sleeping vengeance of the King, who instantly determined to put him upon his trial. Fisher's appointment as Cardinal took place on the 21st of May,^d and the commission to try him was dated on the 2d of June,^e before the news of the appointment at Rome could have been received in London. This seems to prove that the determination to bring him to trial must have preceded his appointment. Indeed, no one who considers the manner in which he was first tempted by the Council, and afterwards betrayed by Rich, into the declaration which was fatal to him, can think that it had not for some time been determined to put him upon his trial. Whether the appointment did not hasten his execution is another question upon which some persons may doubt. In Fisher's instance I can find nothing but what seems to mark a leisurely proceeding in a settled and determined course. His appointment to the purple was on the 21st of May, the commission to try him was on the 2d of June, the news of his appointment reached London several days before the 12th of June,^f but he was not tried until the 17th, and then, to the general surprise, five days elapsed before the order arrived for his execution. I cannot here trace the hurry of alarm which some writers have imagined. Such transactions were often dispatched in

b Turner's *Henry VIII* vol. ii. p. 387, 2d edition.

c Herbert, p. 393.

d Wharton's *Anglia Sac.* vol. i. p. 383.

e Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 21.

f It was known before the date of the document VI. in the Appendix.

the reign of Henry VIII. in a far shorter time, and would have been got through more quickly in Fisher's instance, if the arrival of the Cardinal's hat in England in time to be placed upon its owner's living head, had been a subject of alarm. Indeed, if it can be considered settled that the determination to put him upon his trial, or in other words, if the desire to get rid of him, existed before the English Court were aware he had been appointed a Cardinal, the other question is of minor importance, since it would have been a solecism in the unrelenting character of Henry VIII. if he had paused between the wish to destroy and its accomplishment.

There are various statements of the feelings with which Fisher himself viewed his appointment; but there can be no reason to doubt his own account upon oath, which will be found in the Appendix,^f that when the news was told him he declared "that if the Cardinal's hat were layed at his feet he would not stoop to take it up, he did set so little by it."

The harsh treatment of Fisher does not seem to have terminated with his existence. If the Roman Catholic writers are to be credited, his lifeless body was treated with most scandalous indignity. Much of Dr. Hall's account of this transaction is told in a very simple and credible manner; but, for the sake of humanity, it is to be hoped that other portions of his narrative partake largely of that spirit of romance which may be traced throughout his work. Hall, the chronicler, records merely that Fisher was beheaded and his head set upon London Bridge.^h Cardinal Pole remarks, that the lifeless body was treated with every description of contumely, and, by direction of the King, was exposed entirely naked at the place of execution as a sight for the rabble to gaze at. He adds that so great was the popular dread of Henry, that no one approached the body except those who came for the sake of treating it with indignity, and the persons who stripped it of its clothes.ⁱ This is sufficiently horrible; but Dr. Hall's minute account is still more so. "Then," he says, "the executioner stripping the body of his shirt and all his clothes, he departed thence, leaving the headless carcase naked upon the scaffold, where it remained after that sort for the most part of that day, saving that one, for pity and humanity sake, cast a little straw over it; and about eight of the clock in the evening, com-

^g Appendix VI.

^h p. 817, edit. 1809.

ⁱ *Poli Apolog. ad Carolum*, p. 96.

mandment came from the King's Commissioners to such as watched about the dead body (for it was still watched with many halberds and weapons) that they should cause it to be buried. Whereupon two of the watchers took it upon a halberd between them, and so carried it to a churchyard there hard by, called All Hallows Barkin, where, on the northside of the churchyard, hard by the wall, they digged a grave with their halberds, and therein without any reverence tumbled the body of this holy prelate, all naked and flat upon his belly, without either shirt or other accustomed thing belonging to a Christian man's burial, and so covered it quickly with earth."^k I fear it is but too probable that some indignities were practised; but I doubt whether Hall's account is any thing more than a mere imaginary amplification of the statement of Pole, whose warm feelings probably led him into some exaggeration. Such excessive and disgusting cruelty is almost incredible; and "seeing," as Fuller remarks,^l "the King vouchsafed him the Tower—a noble prison, and beheading—an honourable death, it is improbable he should deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private burial." It is certain that the corpse was first interred in the churchyard of All Hallows Barking, and afterwards, but at what distance of time does not appear, removed to the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower,^m and deposited there, near the remains of Sir Thomas More. If Hall's account were true, the body would soon have been in such a state of decomposition as to render a removal scarcely possible—at any event he does not appear to have been aware of the removal, for he remarks that it was observed by foreigners resident in London, that for seven years "there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been constantly occupied and trodden."ⁿ If Hall had known that the removal took place within seven years, he probably might have thought it proper to abridge the duration of this miracle.

After an exposure of fourteen days upon London Bridge, the head was taken down and thrown into the Thames, in consequence of "a report," says Dodd,^o "that rays of light were observed to shine around it." I know not where Dodd obtained his account of the rays of light; Hall merely says,

^k *Life of Fisher*, p. 210.

^l *Fuller's Church History*, p. 205.

^m *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 529.

ⁿ *Life of Fisher*, p. 213.

^o *Dodd's Church History*, vol. i. p. 161.

that the face was observed to become "fresher and more comely day by day," and that such was the concourse of people who assembled to look at it, that "almost neither cart nor horse could pass."^p

Such are the particulars which I have been able to glean respecting Bishop Fisher. The subject will be thought by many not to be of sufficient interest to merit so much attention. It seems to me that every particular relative to a condemnation so iniquitous as Fisher's, deserves to be accurately known, and although Henry VIII. strove to obliterate him from the general recollection by prohibiting the perusal of his works,^q and effacing his arms which were carved upon the stalls in the Chapel of St. John's, and upon a tomb he had there prepared for himself,^r we ought to pay the justice to his memory which was then refused. It is a shame to our biographers that there does not at this time exist a life of Bishop Fisher of any value or authority. Dr. Fiddes, Lewis the biographer of Caxton, and Mr. Alban Butler, were all engaged upon the subject, but without any profitable result. Of Fiddes's collections I know nothing, he had the loan of the Baker MSS. which I have consulted; Mr. Lewis's work was some time since in the hands of the Rev. Theodore Williams; and Mr. Alban Butler's collections were in the possession of Mr. Charles Butler, but have been destroyed. In the meantime Dr. Bailey's, or rather Dr. Hall's *Life of Fisher*, printed in 1655, and now seldom met with, is the only book upon the subject. I have abstained as much as possible from having recourse to Hall's work, because I was desirous of ascertaining how much might be gathered from other sources either to corroborate or contradict his statements. The result is in most instances favourable to his correctness, although many things in his volume are clearly fabulous. His account of the trial and execution of Fisher, which is copied into our *State Trials*, appears to me to be written in a style so plain and simple, and with such an air of truth, that if considered merely as a composition it ought to render the book of considerable value.

I am, my dear Sir, your very faithful, humble servant,

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

JOHN BRUCE.

^p *Life of Fisher*, p. 212.

^q Cott. MS. Titus, B. 1. fol. 535.

^r Harl. MS. No. 7047, p. 16 b.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

Cott. MSS. Vespasian, F. XIII. fol. 154 b.

Master Cromwell, after my right humble comendations I beseiche you to have some pytye of me, considry'g the case and condition that I ame in ; and I dowl not but yf ye myght see in what plyte that I ame ye woulde have some pyte uppon me, for in goodfaythe now almoste this six weekys I have hadde a grevous cowighe w^t a fever in the bigynnyng thereof, as dyvers other heare in this countre hathe hadde, and dyvers have dyed thereof. And now the mattyer is fallen downe in to my leggis and feit, w^t suche swellinge and aiche that I maye nother ryde nor goo, for the whiche I beseiche you eftsonys to have some pyte uppon me and to spare me for a season, to thene the swellinge and aiche of my leggis and feit maye swaige and abait, and then by the grace of o^r Lorde I shall w^t all speide obeye yo^r comāundement. Thus fare ye weall, at Rochestre the xxviij daye of Januarij,

By yo^r faythefull Beadman,*Jo. Roffa.*

No. II.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. VI. fol. 161.

Aftir my right humble comendations I most intierly beseche you that I no farther be moved to mak awnswere unto yo^r letters, for I se that myn awnswere most rather growe in to a greate booke or els be insufficient, so that ye shall still thereby tak occasion to be offendid, and I nothing proffitt. For I perceyve that every thinge that I writte is ascrybed either to craft, or to willfullnes, or to affection, or to unkyndnes agaynst my soveraigne, so that my writinge rather provokithe you to displeasur than it forderithe me in any poynt concernyng yo^r favor, whiche I most affectually coveyte. Nothinge

I redd in all your longe letters that I tak eny comfort of but the oonely subscription, wher in it pleaside you to call you my frende, whiche undoubtydly was a worde of moche consolation unto me, and therefor I beseeche you so to contynew, and so to shew yo'self unto me at this tyme. In ij poyntes of my writinge me thought ye were most offendide, and boithe concernyd the Kinges grace. That oone was where I excusyd my self by the displeasur that his highnes tok w^t me when I spake oons or twyse untill hyme of lyk matters. That other was where I towchide his great mattier. And as to the furst, me think it veary harde that I myght not signyfye unto you suche things secreatly as myght be most affectuall for myn excuse; and as to the seconde my study and purpose was specially to declyne that I shoulde not be straytete to offende his grace in that behalf, for thene I most nedis declare my conscyence, the whiche as thane I wrote I wulde be lothe to doo any more largely than I have doone; not that I condeme any other menys conscyence, there conscyence maye save theme, and myne must save me. Wherefor, good master Cromewell, I beseeche you, for the love of God, be contented w^t this myne awnswere, and to give creadence unto my brother in suche thingis as he hathe to saye unto you. Thus fare ye weeale, at Rochestre the xxxj daye of Januarij, by yo^r faithfull Beadman,

Jo. Roffs.

No. III.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 162.

Please it yo^r most graciouse hyghenes benignely to heare this my most humble sute which I have to make unto yo^r grace att this tyme, and to pardone me that I come nott myself unto yo^r grace for the same, for in good faith I have hadde so meny periculouse diseases oone after an other, which beganne with me before Advent, and so by long continuaunce hath now brought my bodie in that weakenesse that withouten perill of destruction of the same, which I darr saye yo^r grace for yo^r soveraigne goodnes wold not, I maye not as yett take any travayling upon me; and soo I wrote to Maister Cromewell, yo^r most trustie counsaillor, besechying him to obtayne yo^r graciouse licence for me to be absent from this pliament for that same cause, and he putt me in comforthe soo to doo. Now thus it is, most

graciously Sovereigne Lorde, that in yo^r moost highe Court of Parliament is put in a bill agaynest me concernyng the Nuñe of Cant^rburye, and intendyng my condempnation for not revelyng of such wordes as she hadde unto me towchyng yo^r highnes, wherein I most humbly beseeche youre grace that withowten your displeaso^r I maye shewe unto yow the consideration that moved me soo to doo, whiche when youre moost excellent wisdom hath deeply considered I trust assuredly that yo^r charitable goodnes will not impute any blame to me therefore.

A trowth it is this Nuñe was [with] me thries in comyng from London by Rochester, as I wrote to maister Cromwell, and shewed unto hym the occasions of her comyng and of my sendynges untill her agayne.

The first time she came unto my howse, unsent for of my partye, and than she told me that she hadde bene with yo^r grace, and that she had shewed unto yow a Revelation whiche she hadde from Almighty God; yo^r grace I trust will not be displeased with this my rehearsall therof. She said that if yo^r grace went forth with the purpose that ye intended, ye should not be Kynge of Englande vij monethes after.

I conceived not by theis wordes, I take it upon my soule, that any malice or evill was intended or ment unto yo^r highenes by any mortall man, butt onely that thei were the threattes of God, as she then did afferme.

And thoughte thei were feaned, that (as I wold be saved) was to me unknownen. I nev^r counsailld her unto that feanyng, nor was pryvaye thereunto, nor to any such purposes as it now is sayd thei went abowte.

Neverthesse, if she hadde told me this Revelation, and hadde not alsoo tolde me that she hadde reported the same unto youre grace, I had bene verylie farre to blame and worthy extreame punyschement, for not disclosyng the same unto your highenes or elles to some of yo^r Counsaill. But sithen she did assure me therewith that she hadde playnelye told unto yo^r grace the same thyng, I thought dowllesse that your grace wold have suspected me that I hadde comyn to renewe her tale agayne unto you, rather for the cōfyrmyng of myn opinion than for any other cause.

I beseeche yo^r highnes to take no displeaso^r with me for this that I will saye. It stykketh yet, moost graciously Sovereigne Lorde, in my hart to my no little hevynesse, youre greivouse lres, and after that yo^r moche fearfull

wordes, that yo^r grace hadde unto me for shewyng unto yow my mynde and opinion in the same matter, notwithstanding that yo^r highenes hadde soo often and soo straytly comāded me to serch for the same before, and for this cause I was right loth to have comyn unto your grace agayne with such a tale ptaynyng to that matter.

Meny other considerations I hadde, but this was the very cause why that I came not unto yo^r grace; for in good faithe I dradde lest I shold therby have provoked yo^r grace to farther displeaso^r agaynst me.

My lorde of Cant^rbury also, which was yo^r greate Counsaillor, told me that she hadde bene with yo^r grace and hadde shewed yow this same matter, and of hym (as I will answer before God) I learned greatter thynges of hir ptensed visions than she tolde me herself. And at that tyme I shewed unto hym that she hadde bene with me and told me as I have writen before.

I trust now that yo^r excellent wisdom and learynge seeth ther is in me no defawte for not revelyng of her wordes unto yo^r grace, when she herself did affirme unto me that she hadde soo done, and my Lord of Cant^rbury that then was, cōfermed also the same.

Wherfore, most graciouse Sovereigne Lorde, in my most humblie wise, I besech yo^r highnes to dimisse me of this trooble, wherby I shall the more quietly serve God and the more effectually pray for yo^r grace.

This if ther were a right greate offense in me shold be to yo^r merite to pardon, butt moch rather takyng the case as it is I trust verily ye will soo doo. Now my body is moch weakened with meny diseases and infirmities, and my sowle is moch inquieted by this trooble, so that my harte is more withdrawn from God and fro the devotion of prayer than I wold. And verily I thinke that my lyve maye not long cōtenue; wherefo^r eftsoones I besech yo^r moost graciouse highnes that by yo^r charytable goodnes I maye be deli^ved of this besynesse, and onely to p^paire my sowle to God and to make itt ready agaynest the comyng of death and no moore to come abroode in the worlde. This, mooste graciouse Sovereigne Lorde, I beseche yo^r highnes by all the singuler and excellent endowementes of yo^r most noble bodie and sowle, and for the love of Christ Jhū, that soo dearly with his moost p^ciouse bloode redeamed yo^r sowle and myn, and duryng my lyve I shall not cease (as I am bownden), and yet now the more entearly, to make

my prayer to God for the p̄servation of yo^r most royal Majestie. Att
Rochester the xxvijth daye of Februa^r.

Yo^r most humiyl beadman and subject,

Jo. Roffe.

No. IV.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 172.—Autograph.

After my most humbyl comendacions, wher ass ye be content that I shold
wryte unto the Kings hyghness, in gude fathe I dread me that I kan not be
soo circumspect in my wryteng but that sume worde shal escape me wher
with his grace shal be moved to sum farther displeasure againste me, whereof
I wold be veray sorry; for ass I wyll answer byfor God, I wold not in any
maner of poynt offend his grace, my deuty saved unto God, whom I muste
in every thyng prefer; and for this consideracion I am full loth and full of
fear to wryte unto his hyghnes in this matter. Nevertheless, sythen I
conceyve that itt is yo^r mynde that I shal so doo, I wyl endeavor me to the
best that I kan.

But first hear I must beseche you, gode M^r. Secretary, to call to yo^r
remembrance that att my last beyng befor yow and the other Comysshionars
for takyng of the othe cōcernyng the Kyngs most noble succession, I
was content to be sworn unto that parcell cōcernyng the succession; and
there I did rehears this reason which I sade moved me, I dowedt nott but
that the prynce of eny realme, with the assent of his nobles and cōmons,
myght appoynte for his succession Royal such an order ass was seen unto
his wysdom most accordyng; and for this reason I sade that I was content
to be sworn unto that part of the othe ass concernyng the succession. This
is a veray trowth, ass God help my sowl att my most neede. All be itt I
refused to swear to sum other parcels, bycause that my conscience wold not
serve me so to doo.

Forthermo^r I byseche yow to be gode M^r. unto me in my necessite, for I
have nather shert nor shete nor yett other clothes that ar necessary for me
to wear but that be ragged and rent to shamefully. Nothwithstanding I
myght easily suffer that if thei wold keep my body warm. Butt my dyet

allso God knows how sclendar itt is att meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may not awaye but with a few kynd of meatts, which if I want I decaye forthwith, and fall in to coafes and disseasis of my bodye, and kan not keep myself in health.

And ass o^r Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft unto me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me to his great hynderance.

Wherfore, gode M^r. Secretarye, eftsones I bysech yow to have sum pittie uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass ar necessary for me in myn age, and specially for my health. And allso that itt may pleas you by yo^r hygh wysdom to move the Kyng's hyghness to take me unto his graciouss favo^r agane, and to restoor me unto my lyberty owt of this cold and paynefull emprysonment, whearby ye shall bynd me to be yo^r pore beadsman for ever unto Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his protection and custody.

Other twayne thyngs I must all so desyer uppon yow; thattoon is that it may pleas yow that I may take sum preest with in the Tower by the assygment of M^r Levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme; that other is that I may borow sum books to styr my devotion mor effectually thes hooly dayes for the comforth of my sowl. This I beseche yow to grant me of yo^r charitie, and thus o^r Lord send you a mery Chrystenmass and a comforthable to yo^r harts desyer. At the Tower the xxii day of December,

Yo^r pore beadsman,

Jo. Roffs.

No. V.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 178 b.

Quidm̄ tamen Johēs Fysshier nup de Civitate Roffens. in Com. Kanc. Clicus alias dñs Johēs Fysshier nup de Roseñ Epūs, Deum pre oculis non ñens sed instigatione diabolica seductus, false maliciose et proditorie optans volens et desiderans ac arte imaginans inventans practicans et attemptans serenissimū dñm nrm Henricum octavū, Dei grā Angli et Ffranc. Regem Fidei Defensorem et Dñū Hibn. atq; in terra supremū caput Ecclie Angli-

canæ, de dignitate titulo et nōie status sui Regalis, videtis de dignitate titulo et nōie suis in t̄ra sup̄ni Capitis Anglicanæ Ecclie, dte imperiali Corone sue ut p̄mitt̄ annexis et vinctis, deprivare, septimo die Maii Anno regni ejusdem Dñi Regis vicessimo septimo apud Turrim London. in Com. Midd. contra legiancie sue debitū hec v̄ba Anglicana sequen. dīvisis dñi Dñi Regis veris subditis, false maliciose et proditorie loquebat̄ et p̄palabat, videfit, "The Kyng owre Sōvaign Lord is not sup̄me hedd yn erthe of the Cherche of Englande," in dñi dñi Regis injuriū despect. et vilipendiū manifestū ac in dñor. dignitatis t̄ili et nōis status sui regalis derogacoēm et p̄judm̄ non modicum, et contra formā dicti al̄ius actus p̄dicto Anno xxvj edit. et p̄iūs ac contra pacem p̄fati dñi Regis, etc.

No. VI.

Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 169.

The Answeres made by Mr. John Fisser, Doctor of Divinitie, to the Interrogatorys mūstered unto hym the xijth daye of June, a^o. rⁱ. h. viii. xxvijth, within the Towre of London. Examined thereupon by Mr. Thomas Bedyll and Mr. Richard Layton, clerke of the Kings Counsaill, in the psence of S^r Edmonde Walsynghām, knyght, Lieutenant of the said Towre, Henry Polstede, John Whalley, and me John ap Rice, Notarie underwriter, and sworne in v̄bo sacerdotis, that he wolde truly answer to the said Interrogatories, and to every pte of the same, as ferre as he knoweth or remēbreth.

To the first Interrogatorie he saith, That whan thacte by the which wordes are made Treason was a making, Robert Fisser his brother came to hym to the Towre, and said that there was an acte in hande in the coñon house by the which speking of certain words against the kyng shulde be made treason; and because it was thought by divers of the said house, that no man lightly coulde beware of the penaltie of the said statute, therefor there was moche sticking at the same in the coñon house; and unlesse there were added in the same that the said wordes sholde be spoken maliciouslie, he thought the same shulde not passe. And then this r̄udent asked h̄y whether men shulde

be bounde to make any answer to any poynte upon an othe by the vertue of the same acte, like as they were by the tother acte of Succession. And he said nae. And no other coñation had this depo^t with hym to hys remembrance at any time touching the said acts or any of theym.

To the second Interrogatorie he hath answered afore, and no other answer can he make to the same, as he saith.

To the iijth, he dothe not remēbre that ever he had such coñcation with his brother.

To the iiijth, he answereth as afore, and no otherwise can he answer.

To the vth Interrogatorie this exa^d answered, that there hath bēn lres sent betwene hym and M^r. More to and fro. Upon a iiij or thereabouts frō either of theym to other sen they came to the Towre, touching the matiers specified in this Interrogatorie. And declaring the cōtents and effect of the same as ferre as he can remēbre, saith that he remēbreth not theeffect of any of the letters that either he sent to M^r. More, or that he receaved of M^r. More, before the first being of the counsaill here with this exam^t, but he doth well remēbre that there were lres sent to and frō betwene hym and M^r. More before that tyme; and the firste occasion of writing betwene theym pceded first of M^r. More; and now being better remēbred saith that theeffect of the first lre that M^r. More did write unto hym after they cam to the Towre, was to knowe theeffect of this depo^u answer, which he had made to the counsaill in the matier for the which he was first comitted to the Towre; and then the rñdent signified unto hym by his lres what answer he had made theym. Examied whether he doth remēbre theeffect of any other lres that went betwene hym and M^r. More before the first being of the consaill with theym, saith no. And further exam^d what lres went betwene theym syns that time, saith that sone after that the consaill had bene here firste to examyne this rēdent, George, M^r. Lieutenant's švant, shewed this exa^d a lre which M^r. More had directed to his daughter Maistres Rop; theeffect whereof was this, that whan the consaill had purposed unto hym the mateer for the which they cam for, he said that he wold not dispute the King's title, and that M^r. Secretarie gave hym good words at his deptime; and that is all that he can remēbre of theeffect of the same lre; and by the occasion of that lre this rñdent wrote to M^r. More a lre to knowe a more cleareness of

his answer therin, which tre he dyd sende hym by the said George. And therupon he receaved a tre agein frō the said Mr. More by the hand of the said George, concerning his answer, but what the same was he saith he hath not in his remembrance. And after a deliberate tyme, about thre or iiij daies, this rēdent calling to his remembrance the wordes that his brother Robert Fissher had spoken unto hym long before, viz. howe that the cōens did stik and woll not suffre the said statute to passe, onlesse this worde maliciouslie were putt in it, wrote a tre cōteyning the same wordes in effecte to Mr. More, adding this, that yf this worde maliciouslie were putt in the saide statute, he thought it shulde be no daunger yf a man did answer to the question that was purposed unto hym by the counsaill after hys owne mynde, so that he did not the same maliciouslie. But he saith he nothing required or demanded in the said tres the advyse or counsaill of Mr. More therein, as he is sure that the same Mr. More hymself wolde testifie yf he be examied. And therupon (as this deponēt thinketh) Mr. More supposing that this rūdents answer and his shulde be vñ nyghe and like, and that the counsaill therby wolde thinke that the tone of theym had taken light of the tother, wolde that the same suspicion shulde be avoyded. And therupon wrote a tre to this rudent accordingle.

Further exam^d whether any other tres or intelligence were betwene theym, saith, that soone after the last being of the counsaill in the Towre, and after the taking away of Mr. More's bokes frō hym, the said George cam to this depo^t, and told hym that Mr. More was in a pecke of troubles, and that he desired to have either by writing or by worde of mouthe certain knowlege what answer this rēdent had made to the counsaill. And therupon this rēdent wrote unto hym a tre that he had made hys answer according to the statute, which cōdempneth no man but hym that speketh maliciouslie against the king's title, and that the statute did cōpelle no man to answer to the question that was purposed hym, and that he besought theym that he shulde not be cōstrayned to make further or other answer than the said statute did binde hym, but wolde suffre hym to enjoye the benefite of the same statute, which was all theeffect of the said tre as ferre as this depo^t doth remembre.

And saith further, that he doth not remembre any other tres or message sent frō hym to Mr. More, or frō Mr. More to hym syns that tyme, nor theeffect

of any other, or message going betwene theym at any tyme other than are before exp̃ssed.

To the vj. vij. viij. ix. x. xj. xij. xij. xiv. xv. xvj. and xvij. inth he hath answered before, and otherwise he can not answer to the same, as he saith.

To the xvijth he saith, and answered, No; he knoweth where none is.

To the xixth he saith, that they were all brent as soone as he hadde redde theym. And to thintent that theeffect therof shulde have bēn kept secrete yf it mought be; ffor he was lothe to be repved of his p̃mise made to M^r. Liewtenante that he wolde not doo that thing for the which he might be putt in blame. Albeit yf that there were more in the said tres than is before touched, he is sure it was nothing els but exhortacions either of other to take patience in their adversite, and to call [upon] God for G̃e and p̃yng for their enemies, and nothing els that shulde herte or offende any man erthely, as he saith.

To the xxth he answereth, that he receaved no other tres than afore touched.

To the xxith int. he saith, that he receaved the same boke frō Edwarde White by thande of the said George, in the tyme sp̃cified in this Interrogatorie.

To the xxijth int he saith that he remēbreth no cōication betwene hym and Edwarde White, but he saieth that there was certain cōication betwene Wilson and hym about the tyme that they redde the saide statutes, and saith that he threppened upon this rēdent that the counsaill had purposed unto this rēdent ij poyntes, and this rēdent sayd that he remēbred not there was but one, which was this, howe the counsaill were sente hether to knowe his opinion towching the statute of Suḡeme hedde, and no other did he remēbre that they shulde purpose unto hym; and said further, that Wilson said that he stode behinde the doore and harde ptely what this rēdent did answer unto theym; and howe he harde M^r. Bedyll's reasons that he made than; and saith that after that the said Wilson had redd the said statutes to this rēdent ones or twyes, this rēdent caused theym to be brende because he thought that yf M^r. Lieuutenant had founde them with this exam^t he wolde have made moche busyness therupon.

To the xxijth int he saith that he doth not remēbre that ever he declared

to Wilson or to any man what answere he was disposed to make, what soever cōication were betwene theym thereof.

To the xxiiij he saith that he received no such tres to his knowlege or remēbrance, but one that Erasmus dyd sende unto hym, which this rēdent's brother Rob^t Fissher showed first to Mr. Secretarie or it cam to hym.

To the xxv and xxvith he saieth that George aforementioned brought hym worde sen the last sitting of the counsaill here, that he harde saye of Maistres Rop that this rēdent was made a Cardinall; and than this rēdent said in the p̄sence of the said George and Wilson, that yf the Cardinall's hatt were layed at his feete he wolde not stoupe to take it up, he did set so little by it.

To the xxvijth he saieth that he receaved no other tres touching the said busynes.

To the xxviiith in^t he saieth that he receaved no suche tres nor message to his knowlege or his remēbrance.

To the xxixth he saith that he wrote oftentimes tres touching his diett to him that pvided his diett, as to Rob^t Fissher while he lived, and to Edward White; and a tre to my Lady of Oxford for her cōforte; and tres of request to certain of his frends that he might paye Mr. Lieuetenant for his diet, to whome he was in g̃te dett, and he was in g̃te nede.

To the xxxth he receaved certain money of eche of theym according to his request, and no other answere as he saith.

Reexam^d whether there were any suche cōfederacie or cōpaction betwene this rēdent and his švant Wilson and the said George, that the saied cōveying of tres and messages to and fro shulde be kept close yf they were examēd therof; saith they were agreyed so together to kepe the same as secrete as they might.

Jo. Roffs.

IV. *Copies of Original Papers, illustrative of the Management of Literature by Printers and Stationers in the middle of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, in a Letter to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T., President.*

Read 31st May, 1832.

MY LORD,

AMONGST the Documents, Letters, and Records of different kinds, presented to Queen Elizabeth's favourite Minister, Lord Burghley, and now preserved in the British Museum, there are a few, chiefly in the form of Memorials and Petitions, which throw some partial light upon the History of the Literature of that period; at least upon the mechanical management of it among the Printers of the day.

Two or three of these Documents, in the absence of any more interesting Communication, I have much pleasure in placing before your Lordship and the Society.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

The first Document is a Memorial from the Company of Stationers, complaining of the opposition met with in making their search in the printing-house of one Ward, "who printed all kinds of Books at his pleasure." It is without date, but is indorsed, as having come to Lord Burghley's hand, in October 1582.

The second relates to Privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth "under her Great Seal," and is dated externally in the same year.

The third Document, of the same year, is in the hand-writing of Christopher Barker. It is a Note of the state of the Stationers' Company, followed by what is called "a Valuation also of the Letters Patents concerning Printing."

[MS. Lansd. 48, art. 77.]

To the ryght honorable our singuler and especiall good Lorde the Lorde Highe Treasurer of Englande.

Most humble sheweth unto your Honour the Wardens of the poore Companye of the Stacioners that where as on Thursdaye laste beinge the xxv of this Monethe of October vppon occasion of distruste of the contemptuous dealings of certeine lude Prynters against her Majesties Letters Pattentes, as otherwyse againste all good Orders of our poore Companye, we caused a searche and viewe to be made by tow discrete persones in everye Pryntinge house, thereby to understand and take notice what everye Printer had in workinge accordinge to a laudable use warranted by a Charter to our saide Companye under her Highnesse greate seale of Englande. But so it is, righte honorable and our singuler good Lorde, that comminge to the house of one Roger Warde, a man who of late hathe shewed himselfe very contemptuous againste her Majesty's high prerogative, and offering to come into his pryntinge house to take notice what he did, the saide Roger Ward faininge himselfe to be absente, hys wyfe and servants keepeth the dore shutt againste them, and saide that none shulde come there to searche, neither woulde in any wyse suffer any man to enter into the house; by lykelyhoode wherof, and of tow good prooffe, he printeth what he lysteth, and persisteth in the same behaviour tyll your Honowre of your singuler goodnesse vouchsafe to take order to the contrarye, as we hope of your vertuous inclination to justice you will as well againste the saide Roger Warde as other moste presumptuous and insolent persons, of whom the right Honorable M^r. Secretarye Walsingame can further informe your Lordshipe. Thus most humble

commendinge the redresse of the foresaide disorders unto your noble wysdome we shall continually praye unto th' Almightye for your Honoures helthe and prosperitie longe to endure.

Your Honours moste humble at commandemente,

CHR. BARKER,
FRANCIS COLDOCKE.

[MS. Lansd. 48. No. 78.]

The Privilidges latelie graunted by her Majestie under her Highnes great seale of England to the persons hereunder written, conserninge the Arte of Printing of Bookes, hath and will be the over throwe of the Printers and Stationers within this Cittie, beinge in noumber 175, besides their wyves, children, apprentizes, and families, and thereby th' excessive prices of Bookes prejudicialle to the state of the whole Realme, besides the false printinge of the same.

Johne Jugge, besides the beinge her Majesties printer, hathe gottene the privilidge for the printing of Bibles and Testamentes, the which was common to all the Printers.

Richard Tothill the printinge of all kindes of Lawe Bookes, which was common to all Printers, who selleth the same bookes at excessive prices to the hinderance of a greate nombre of pore studentes.

Johne Daye the printinge of A. B. C. and Cathechismes, with the sole selling of theme by the collour of a Commission. These bookes weare the onelie releif of the porest sort of that Companie.

James Robertes and Richard Watkyns the printinge of all Alminackes and Pronosticaciouns, the whiche was the onelie releif of the most porest of the Printers.

Thomas Marshe hathe a great licence for Lattene bookes used in the Grammer Scholes of Englande, the whiche was the generall livinge of the whole Companie of Stationers.

Thomas Vautrolle, a stranger, hathe the sole printinge of other Lattene bookes, as the Newe Testament and others.

One Byrde a Singingman, hathe a licence for printinge of all Musicke Bookes, and by that meanes he clameth the printing of ruled paper.

William Seres hath priviledge for the printinge of all Psalters, all manner of Prymers Englishe or Latten, and all manner of Prayer Bookes, with the Revercione of the same to his sonne, who giveth not himself to our trade.

Fraunces Flower a gentleman, beinge none of our Companye, hathe priviledg for printinge the Gramer and other thinges, and hathe farmed it oute to somme of the Companie for one hundred poundes by the yere, which C^u. is raised in the inhaunsinge of the prices above th'accustomed order.

The Names of all suche Stacyoners and Printers as are hindred by resoun of the foresaid Priviledges :

Johne Walley.
Johne Judson.
William Nortone.
Humfrey Toye.
Johne Harrison.
Luke Harrisone.
George Bisshopp.
Thomas Hackett.
Gerrarde Dewes.
Richard Watkyns.
Fraunces Coldock.
Rafe Neweberie.
Dunstane Whaplett.
Henrie Denhame.
William Howe.
Johne Jugg.
Robert Holder.
Henrie Suttone.

Hugh Shingleton.
Nicholas Clifton.
Johne Aldye.
Johne Awdley.
Johne Hynde.
Thomas Cademan.
Frauncis Godleigh.
Thomas Omble.
Dyones Erneley.
Augustyne Lawtone.
Thomas Brightwelle.
Thomas Este.
Johne Cuthbertt.
Henry Bynneman.
Henrie Midleton.
Peter Benson.
Johne Arnolde.

With the number of 140 that have byne made free of the Stacyoners since the begynnyng of the Quenes Majestie's reigne that now is, besides a great nombre of apprenticez.

The Names of all suche as do lyve by booke sellyng being free of other Companies and also hindered by the said Priviledges :

Johne Wight.	Nicholas Wyer.
Abraham Veale.	Richard Brett.
Johne Kingstone.	Richard Smithe.
Anthonie Kidsone.	James Rowbothome.
Christofer Barker.	Anthonie Harris.

besides a nombre of Jorneyemen and Apprentices of theiris.

[MS. Lansd. 48. No. 82.]

A Note of the State of the Company of Printers, Bookesellers, and Bookebynders comprehended under the name of Stacioners, with a Valuation also of all the Lettres patentes concerning Printing.

In the tyme of King Henry the Eghte, there were but fewe Printers, and those of good credit and compotent wealth, at whiche tyme and before there was an other sort of men, that were writers, lymners of Bookes and dyverse thinges for the Church and other uses, called Stacioners; which have, and partly to this daye do use to buy their bookes in grosse of the saide Printers, to bynde them up, and sell them in their shops, whereby they well mayntayned their families.

In King Edward the sixt his dayes, Printers and Printing began greatly to increase : but the provision of letter, and many other thinges belonging to Printing, was so exceeding chargeable, that most of those Printers were dryven throughe necessitie to compound before with the Bookesellers at so lowe value, as the Printers themselves were most tymes small gayners, and often losers.

In the tyme of Q. Marie the Company procured a Charter for the establishing of a Corporation ; in the which the Queene gyveth auctoritie to all Stacioners, and none other, to print all lafull bookes, excepting suche as had ben before graunted, or should by speciall licence be after graunted to

any person (Therein lacked this word Printers-Stationers) so that printing is free to bookesellers, bookebinders, Joyners, Chaundlers, and all other being Freemen of the said Corporation under the name of the Stationers, whether they be Masters or Journemen.

This Charter was ratified and confirmed by our Sovereigne Lady the Queene's Ma^{tie} that nowe is, so that the Bookesellers, being growen the greater and wealthier number, have nowe many of the best Copies and keepe no printing howse, neither beare any charge of letter, or other furniture, but onlie paye for the workmanship, and have the benefit both of the imprinting and the sale of all Commentaries of the Scriptures, and (till of late yeres of all Schoole bookes, Dictionaries, Chronicles, Histories,) Bookes of Phisick, and infinite others; most whereof are generally free to all: so that the artificer printer, growing every daye more and more unable to provide letter and other furniture requisite for the execution of any good worke, or to gyve mayntenaunce to any suche learned Correctours as are behovefull, will in tyme be an occasion of great discredit to the professors of the arte, and in myne opinion prejudiciall to the Common Wealth.

These considerations have enforced Printers to procure grauntes from Her Majestie of somme certayne Copies, for the better mayntenaunce of furniture, Correctours, and other workmen who cannot suddaynely be provided, nor suddenlye put awaye; and if they should must of necessitie either wantt necessarie lyving, or print Bookes, Pamphlettes, and other trifles, more daungerous then profitable. I speake not this (thoughe it be very true) as wishing any restraynt to Bookesellers, or Bookebinders, but that they may print and have printed for them such good bookes, as they can orderly procure; for even somme of them, though their skill be little or nothing in the execution of the art, have more judgement to governe and order matters of printing, then somme Printers themselves. But unlesse somme fewe Printers be well mayntayned, it will bring both the one and the other to confusion and extreme povertie.

Item, a Note of the Offices and other speciall Licenses for Printing, graunted by Her Ma^{tie} to diverse persons, with a Conjecture of the Valuation.

MR. FLOWER.

First, Her Ma^{ties} Printer for the Latin tongue hath among other things the Grammar and Accidens for the instruction of youth, which, being but a small Booke, and occupied by children, is greatlie spent; and therefore the most profitable Copie in the Realm for the quantitie, which is yet so muche the more gaynefull, for that the Printer, with some greater charge at the first for furniture of letter, hath the most part of it always ready set: otherwise it would not yeeld the annewitie which is paid therefore. And I have heard those fyve men say that occupie the same, that they would willingly geve two, or three hundred pound, to be rid thereof. But if any intrusion should be made, by compiling and publishing any other but the same, (as it happeneth often in other cases) they should suffer extreame losse, or els Mr. Flower must loose his Annewity.

CHRISTOFER BARKER.

Myne owne office of her Ma^{ties} Printer of the English tongue gyven to Mr. Wilkes, is abridged of the cheefest coñodities belonging to the office, as shall hereafter appeare in the Patents of Mr. Seres and Mr. Daye: but as it is I have the printing of the Olde and New Testament, the Statutes of the Realme, Proclamations, and the Booke of Common Prayer by name, and in generall words all matters for the Church. The benefit of the Booke of Common Prayer is very small, by reason of Mr. Seres his patent, as will appeare in the same. The Statutes of the Realme wholly as they were enacted in the Parliament, are alreadye printed by dyvers my predcessors, in so great numbers that there need be no more printed these twentye yeres or more; so that when Her Ma^{tie} is to be served of them in any Her Highnes Courts or otherwise, I am dryven to buy them of other. The abridgement of the Statutes (by reason of a Contract made by Mr. Jugge unto Mr. Tottle) I am awarded by the Company to have but half the benefitt during his lief, though they be printed in my name only. Proclamations come on the sud-dayne, and must be returned printed in hast. Wherefore by breaking of

greater worke I loose oftentimes more by one Proclamacon than I gayne by sixe, before my servants can come in trayne of their worke agayne, and in many yeres there hapeneth not a Proclamation of any benefit at all. The Paraphrasis of Erasmus upon the Epistles and Gospells, with the booke of Homilies, I offer to as many as will print them, geving me good assuraunce for the true imprinting thereof, that I may be blamelesse. Testaments alone are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small as will scarcely beare the charges. The whole Bible together requireth so great a some of money to be employed in the imprinting thereof, as Mr. Jugge kept the Realme twelve yere withoute before he durst adventure to print one impression: but I, considering the great soñe I paide to Mr. Wilkes, did (as some have termed it since) gyve a desperate adventure to imprint fower sundry impressions for all ages, wherein I employed to the value of three thousande pounds in the terme of one yere and an halfe, or thereabout, in which tyme if I had died, my wife and children had been utterlie undone, and many of my friends greatlie hindered by disbursing round somes of money for me, by suertiship and other meanes, as my late good Mr. Master Secretary for one: so that nowe this gappe being stopped, I have little or uothing to doe, but adventure a needlesse charge, to keepe many Journemen in worke, most of them servaunts to my predecessors.

MR. DAYE.

In the priviledge, or private licence graunted to Mr. Daye, are among other things the Psalmes in meeter, with Notes to singe them in the Churches, as well in fowre parts as in playne songe, which being a parcell of the Church service properly belongeth to me. This booke being occupied of all sortes of men, women, and children, and requiring no great stock for the furnishing thereof, is therefore gaynefull. The small Catechisme alone, taught to all lyttle children of this Realme, is taken oute of the Booke of Common Prayer, and belongeth to me also with Mr. Jugge, solde to Mr. Daye, and is likewise included in this Patent procured by the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, and therefore for duties sake I hold myself content therewith. This is also a profitable Copie, for that it is generall and not greatlie chargeable.

MR. SERES.

Mr. Seres hath the Psalter of David, the Primer for little children, with the same Catechisme, and all bookes of private prayer whatsoever in Latin and Englyshe: he also encrocheth farther to take oute of the booke of Common prayer, the morning and evening prayer, wth the Collect, the Letany and other things, framynge as it were a booke of comon prayer to himself. This Psalter is likewise a part of the Church service, belonging to me, and is aucthorised by Parliament as the booke of comon prayer.

The Primer for children likewise consisteth of the Catechisme, and certayne select Psalmes of Davide. How I am hindred by this Psalter, it happeneth thus, that where I sell one booke of Comon prayer, w^{ch} few or none do buye except the minister, he furnysheth y^e whole parishes throughout the Realme, w^{ch} are comonly an hundred for one. This patent being procured by yo^r hono^r to that vertuous honest man yo^r Lordships late seu^{nt} William Seres the elder, and his sonne, I ever did, and do willingly holde my self content, for reverend dutie to yo^r hono^r: yet yo^r Lordship may perceave, that in these two patents lieth the greatest comoditie of my office.

Towching the generalitie of all bookes of pryvate prayers graunted to the said Seres, they are in trueth of no suche value as they seeme: but rather do kepe back the infinite number of vnfrutefull prayer bookes, w^{ch} vnskillfull persons do continually offer to make: and these wrangling persons that so contemptuously disobey her Maties graunts and comaundements, do not offer to print any prayers included in the generall words, but the Psalter with the morning prayer, and the primer wth the Catechisme aforesaid, and other bookes, what like them best, of all mens priuileges, and so arrogate to them selves a priuiledge of priuiledges: yea, they get into their hands, by what meanes they care not, great quantitie of paper for that purpose, printing them most falsely, and selling so cheap,^a as, if they had bin men of reasonable wealth before, they must nedes be vtterlie vndo^{ne}, and vndoe the Patentees also; and by their great disorder, turne the whole Company to losse and hinderaunce in their occupying: among whome one Roger Ward doth alreadye pretend at the least to be a prysoner of Ludgate, to defraude men of their right, and to avoide his due deserts, and yet con-

^a Cheaper then they can aforde, because they cannot avowch the sale thereof.

tynueth printing by his servaunts, and suche evell disposed persons as will work wth hym; an other lieth in prison by yo^r hono^rs com^{ma}ndement of her ma^{ties} pryvie Counsell, and doth the like, who (no doubt) will in the ende exclaime, saying they are vndone by preuiledged men, whereas the contrarye is manifest to yo^r Hono^r. This Patent is executed by Henry Denham.

MR. TOTTLE.

The patent of the Com^{mon} Lawe hath ben very beneficiall, and hath had a tyme, the circomstaunces how are to long to troble yo^r Hono^r wth, but nowe it is of much lesse value then before, and is like yet to be rather worse then better, except a man should with excedding charge take another course therein then hetherto hath ben observed, and as these dayes requier.

MR. BYNNEMAN.

In this patent is conteyned all Dictionaries in all tongues, all Chronicles and Histories whatsoever. This generality carieth a great shewe, and in deed to be executed wth com^{ma}ndacon doth requier a stock of ten thowsand pounce at the least. But if the printer should print many of the said volumes, he must needes stande betwixt two extremes, that is, if he print competent numbers of each to mayntayne his charges, all England, Scotland, and much more, were not able to vtter them: and if he should print but a few of each volume, the prices should be excedding greate, and he in more daunger to be vndone, then likely to gayne; the provision of varietie of letter and other thinge would be so chargeable: ffor even my poore printing house, w^{ch} is but onely for the Englishe, and some Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin letter, if any suche work happen, hath cost me wthin these few yeres twelve hundred pound. Wherefore this Patent in my mynde maye be more daungerous to the Patentee, then profitable: for if any intrusion should happen to be made vppon him, he were easely vndone, and never able to recover it: and if I shoulde haue my choyse of it, and the least that is already graunted to any of o^r Company, I would chuse the lesse: yea even these bad men that pretend to be hindered greatlie by this generalitie would print few or none of these if they might. Notwithstanding, the generalitie of this patent and Seres his also (the hono^r of her Ma^{ties} graunte reserved) is offred to be qualified at the discretion of the auncients of the Companye.

TH. MARSHE.

This Patent includeth a number of the most vsuall Schoole bookes in Latin, w^{ch} (no doubt) would be a beneficiall patent to him that could well vse it, yea, great service to the co^mion wealth might a carefull man do therein : but in myne opinion he that hath it is the vnfittest man in England, in deed neither profiting himself nor the realme.

R. WATKINS.

This patent conteyneth all Almanackes and Prognostications, w^{ch} by reason a few persons and a small stock will suffice to the execution thereof, is a prety co^mmoditie toward an honest mans lyving.

MR. BIRDE and MR. TALLIS of her Ma^{ties} Chappell.

In this patent are included all Musicke bookes whatsoe^u, and the printing of all ruled paper, for the pricking of any songe to the lute, virginals or other instrumente. The paper is somewhat beneficiall. As for the musick bookes, I would not provide necessarie furniture to haue them. This patent is executed by Henry Binneman also.

T. VAUTROVILLERE.

Hath the printing of Tullie, Ovid, and diuerse other great workes in Latin. He doth yet neither great good nor great harme wth all. This patent, if it were fully executed, it were verie doubtfull whether the Printer should be a gayner or a looser. He hath other small things wherewth he keepeth his presses on work, and also worketh for bookesellers of the Company, who kepe no presses.

Thus (right honorable and my very good Lord) I haue goⁿe through all her Maiesties grauntes concerning printing, and haue faythfully yelded myne opinion, even as I would be credited of yo^r hono^r, w^{ch} I ought not a little to esteeme : and I protest before God that if I could see how it might tende to the hono^r of this Realme, or to the credit of the professor's of that science, or might be any way beneficiall to the co^mion wealth, that priuiledges were dissolved, I would yeeld myne opinion so : but I haue alwayes wished that more power might be geuen, yea and strict co^maunde-

ment also, to the Mr. the Wardens and Assistants of the Stationers, to oversee and correct the negligence, as well of printers priviledged, as not priviledged, who by false printing, evell paper, evell workemanship, and such like faultes abuse her maties subiects, and procure the infamy of Barbarisme to the whole Companye.

There are 22 printing howses in London, where 8 or 10 at the most would suffice for all England, yea and Scotland too. But if no man were allowed to be a Mr Printer, but such whose behavio^r were well knowne, and auctorised by warrant from her Ma^{tie}, the arte would be most excellently executed in England, and many frivolous and vnfruitfull Copies kept back, w^{ch} are dayly thrust oute in prynt, greatly corrupting the youth, and preiudiciall to the Comon wealth manye wayes.

There hath ben so^{me} negligence heretofore partlie growen by the disordred behavio^r of Journemen, that men have taken to themselves too many apprentices, whereby the multitude hath greatlie increased, for the arte of necessitie requireth the help of many persons, and therefore there must nedes be Journemen, of whome the nomber is nowe aboute threescore; who do both knowe and confesse that if priviledges were dissolved they were vtterlie vndo^{ne}, having no other qualitie to get their lyving; whereas Booke-sellers, bookebinders, and makers of writing tables, all w^{ch} are of oure Company, haue dyvers other meanes to lyve. But we have taken order for this, so that any man not being of the livery can hereafter haue but one apprentice, being of the livery but twoe, and having ben Mr or Vpper Warden but three at the most; except the Queenes Printer, who is lymitted as the occasion of her Highnes service shall requier; so as thereby the increase is stayed, and everye man wth good order maye be well employed.

These persons (my lord) that are the cause of troubling yo^r Honor so oft (of whose behavio^r I am loath to speake, but that this occasion enforceth me therevnto) are for the most part idle, vndiscrete, and vnthrifte persons, pretending suche skill in lawe, as to discourse what the Prince by her Highnes kingly office may doe, what other magistrates ought to doe, and in the meane tyme forgett their owne dutie toward God, toward their Prince, and their neighbor. Of w^{ch} company being fyve in nomber, one John Wolfe nowe prysoner in the Clinck is the cheif, who after many loose points of behavio^r,

obtaind his freedome of the ffishmong's, by what meanes I knowe not ; after w^{ch} he sued for a priuiledge w^{ch} was thought vnreasonable by so^me serving her Ma^{tie} : w^{ch} when he coulde not obtayne, began of his owne auctoritie to print of all mens priuiledges what liked him best : but being somewhat gaynesaid therein, fell to impugning and denyng her Highnes whole graunt, and for mayntenu^{ce} of his insolent attempte gathered diuerse Conventicles in his howse, in Churches, and other places, seducing and perswading as manye as he could allure, to contemne her Ma^{ties} said graunts : yea, incensed the whole Citie, saying their auncient lib^{ties} were thereby infringed. And one Ffranck Adams, and Will^m Lobley, of great Counsell wth hym, made collections of money among poore men, to retayne Lawyers to further their purpose, promising ten for one, if they had not good successe, vnto Wolfe ; yet still, being in pryson, (as I heare saye,) there is contynuall accesse by so^me of the saide parties, and also by one sometyme a Scrivener, pretending skill in Lawe, who doth much seduce these indiscrete fellows to spend their money, and aggrauate the trouble, of whome, so^me when they are charitably demaunded what they should gayne if all were in co^mmon, and made havock for one man to vndoe another ? they aunswere, we should make them beggers like to o^rselves : meaning those that haue Patents. By their aunswere yo^r Hono^r maye pceyve what they be, and by yo^r wisdomes remeadye the outrage. It doth not beco^me me to offer vnto yo^r Hono^r a meane of redresse ; but if it please yo^r Lordship to co^mmaund me that service, I will most willingly set downe my simple opinion for yo^r Hono^r to consider of. Whome I beseech the Lord to his pleasure long to p^{er}serve.

Indorsed.

" Decemb. 1582.

Writt by Christopher Barker,
to the L. Tr^{er}.

V. *Notices of the Palace of Whitehall ; in a Letter from SYDNEY SMIRKE, Esq. F.S.A., addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 26th January, 1832.

Regent Street, 23d January, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

IT appears to come so peculiarly within the scope and intention of the Society of Antiquaries, to receive from its Members notices of such subjects of antiquarian or historical interest as circumstances may have given them advantageous opportunities of examining, that I make no apology for now sending you some Drawings which represent almost the only remaining fragment of a Palace which was the principal residence of the English Court for more than a century and a half, during a brilliant and important period of English History: I allude to the ancient Palace of Whitehall.

It is very probable that, conversant as all the Members of this Society necessarily are with the antiquities of London, many may have yet to learn that some not insignificant traces of that splendid edifice yet remain. The relic to which I have the pleasure of directing your attention is the Basement of a house at Whitehall-yard, commonly called Cromwell House, which Basement may, I think, with some confidence be pronounced the work of Cardinal Wolsey.

That every writer (as far as I am aware) who has undertaken to describe the Antiquities of London, should have been wholly silent on the subject of this interesting fragment is not a little remarkable: indeed, its very ex-

istence would have been unknown to me, had it not become my professional duty to examine Cromwell House.

I will not detain you with any account of this Palace, the history of which is sufficiently known: originally the residence of the Earls of Kent, it became in the middle of the thirteenth century attached by purchase to the see of York, and so continued until the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, when with all its splendid furniture it became confiscated to the Crown. Henry the Eighth subsequently obtained an Act of Parliament to authorise the taking of this Palace into the bounds of the Royal Palace of Westminster, the latter having fallen, as the preamble of the Act expresses it, "into utter ruin and decay."

Wolsey no doubt had built extensively at Whitehall: it is not to be supposed that the ancient residence of his simpler predecessors would satisfy the love of pomp, or even the bare wants of that Prelate and his splendid establishment; but that Henry, who followed him, built most extensive and magnificent additions, is abundantly proved by the preamble to the above mentioned Act of Parliament. The Palace that resulted from the architectural efforts of these great builders, appears to have been surprisingly extensive. A Plan of it is engraved by Vertue, from a survey made in 1680 by one Fisher, and the space it there covers, including of course many court-yards and areas, is upwards of twenty-three acres. A more distinct idea may be formed of this extent by comparing it with that of other known buildings. The King of Naples' Palace at Caserta covers about twelve or thirteen acres; Hampton Court Palace about eight or nine; St. James's Palace about four; Buckingham Palace between two and a half. The new Palace designed by Inigo Jones to be built at Whitehall, would have covered nearly twenty-four acres.

During the long period of its occupancy by the Archbishops, this Palace was known as York Place, but Henry changed its name to Whitehall, possibly from some new buildings having been constructed by him of stone, at a time when bricks and timber were the materials in more general use; but "the White Hall" was a name not unfrequently given by our ancestors to the festive halls of their habitations; there was a Whitehall at Kenilworth, and the Hall now used by the Peers as their place of assembling in Parliament, was

the "Whitehall" of the Royal Palace of Westminster, and is so called by Stow.

The exact period of the above change in the designation of the Palace in question, is pointed out with happy precision in the following passage from Shakespeare's Play of "Henry the Eighth:"

3d Gentleman. ——— "So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again
To York Place, where the feast is held."

1st Gentleman. ——— "Sir, you
Must no more call it York Place, that is past;
For since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost,
'Tis now the King's—and called Whitehall."

3d Gentleman. ——— "I know it,
But 'tis so lately altered, that the old name
Is fresh about me."

Act IV. Scene 1.

The fires in 1691 and 1698, and the gradual inroads of improvement, have nearly obliterated this regal structure. Of the more modern part the only remnant is, as every one knows, the admired work of Inigo Jones; but of the ancient Palace, the subject of my present Letter is the only important vestige.

This structure consists of an extensive apartment, groined in a massy and substantial style, and built of solid masonry, and now forms the basement story of the house above designated, in which have recently been deposited certain records of the Exchequer Court, as well as other legal documents. That it was included in that part of the Palace which was appropriated to Cromwell may be readily inferred from its present name; but that it was not built by him is rendered perfectly obvious by its style of design, which is very distinctly that Gothic which is usually, and perhaps with propriety, called the Tudor style.

On the Plan referred to, of the Palace in Charles the Second's time, I find this building coincides exactly with what is there termed the "Wine Cellar," and closely adjoins the old Hall; its ample dimensions fully confirm the accounts that are handed down to us of the profuse magnificence of the

Cardinal's domestic establishment. The vaulted ceiling must have supported the floor of some state apartment of considerable size in connection with the Great Hall.

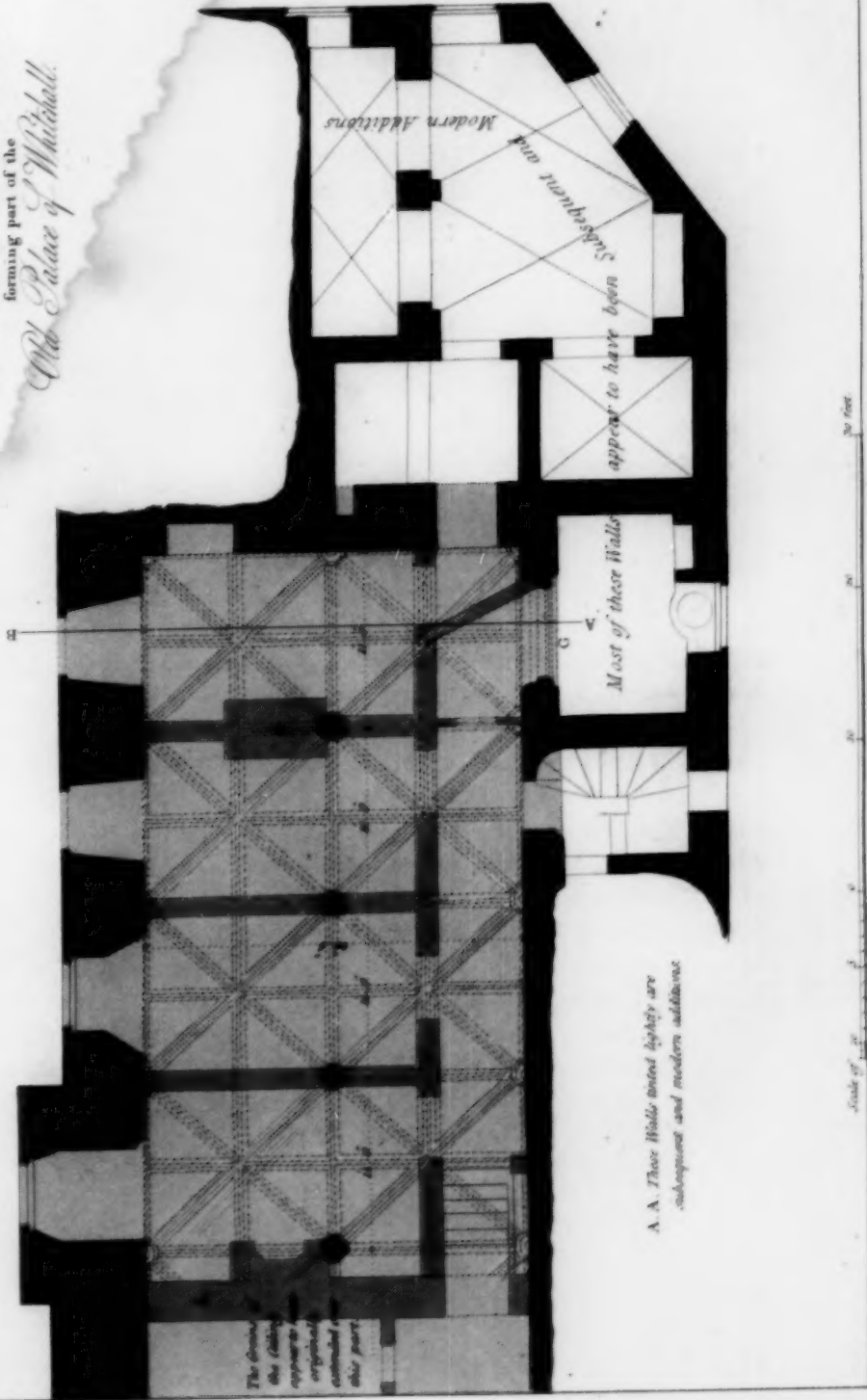
I herewith send you a correct Plan (Drawing, No. 1.) of the Structure in question,^a and on Drawing, No. 2, I have shewn a section through it,^b by which it appears that the present pavement is upwards of five feet above the original level, as I have ascertained by excavation. This alteration no doubt had been found necessary on converting the ancient structure to its present purpose of servants' offices; for the floor is even now scarcely out of the reach of spring tides, and would therefore at its former level have frequently been under water, a liability which must indeed have rendered it but an indifferent place of deposit for wine.

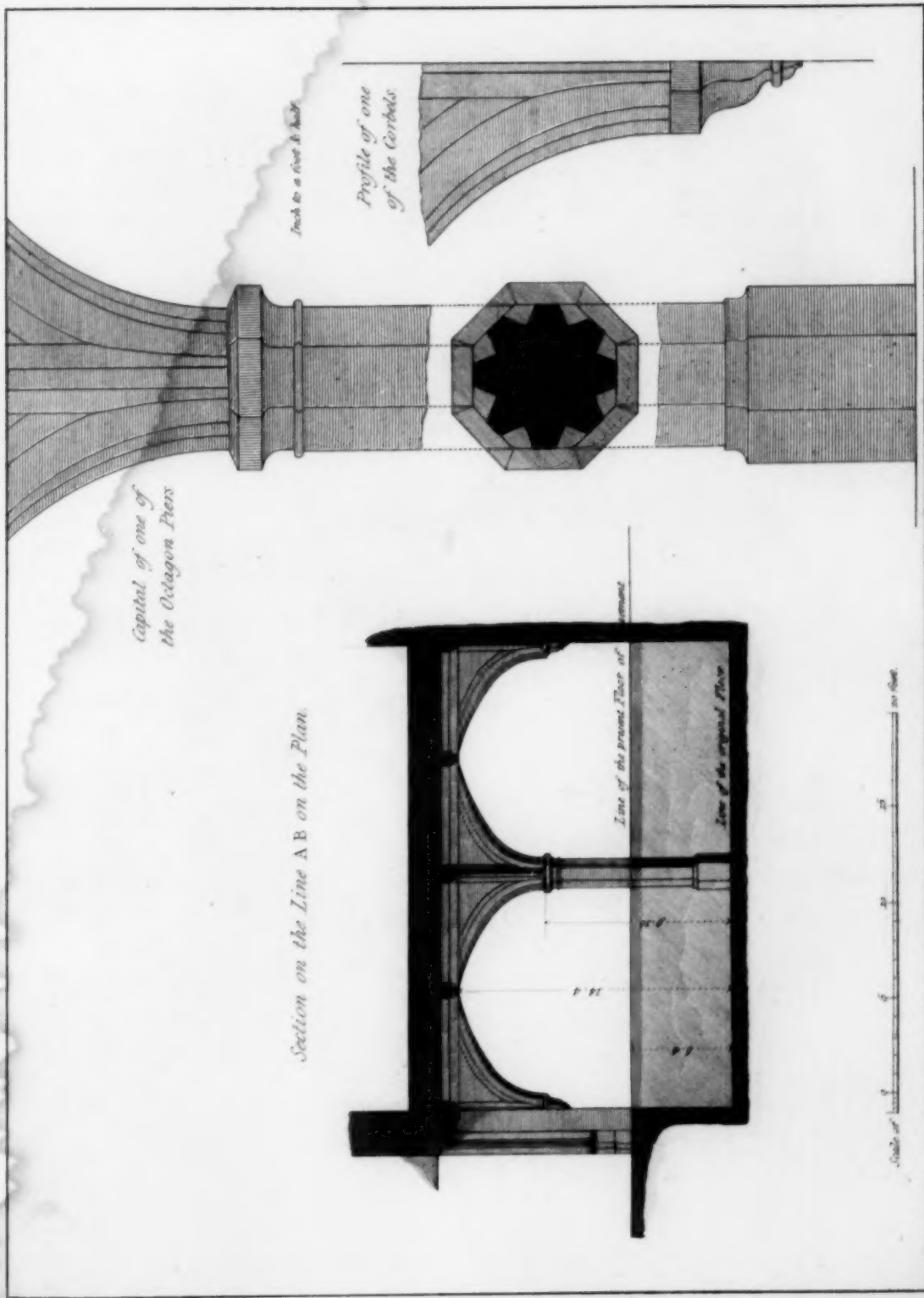
I may here add, that the dampness in the foundations of all the houses about Whitehall is no new complaint. Pepys in his Memoirs alludes to a high tide in 1663 having "drowned" the whole Palace; indeed, from the following passage in Charles's speech, delivered when he received the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting Hall, on his restoration, we may infer that the river was then far less restrained in its course than at present: "The mention of my wife's arrival puts me in mind to desire you to put that compliment upon her that her entrance into the town may be with more decency than the ways will now suffer it to be: and to that purpose I pray you would quickly pass such laws as are before you, in order to the mending those ways, and *that she may not find Whitehall surrounded with water.*"

I have now to invite your attention to Drawing, No. 3,^c representing a Doorway in good preservation, which was the principal entrance into this cellar, and which appears, by the above cited Plan, to have led into it from a passage intervening between the cellar and hall. I at first imagined that this doorway might have been a river entrance into the Palace, and that these vaulted cellars were originally a hall of entrance, under the principal apartments, but the discovery that the original floor of the cellars was so much below the threshold of this doorway, makes the supposition inadmissible.

^a Plate IV. ^b Plate V. ^c Plate VI.

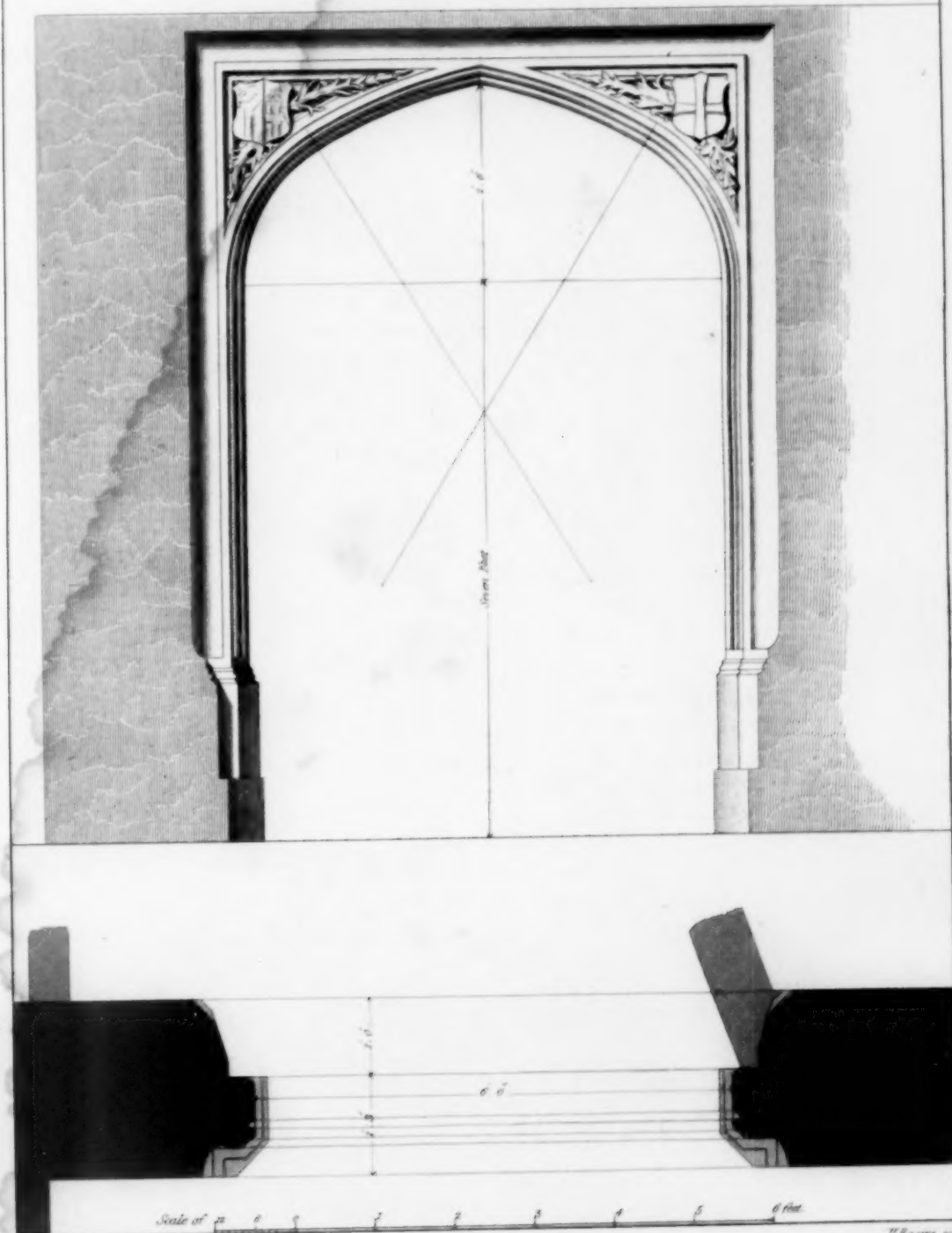
Plan of some
STONE GROINED CELLARS,
 forming part of the
Old Palace of Whitehall.





J. B. B. B. B.

Elevation of the Gateway at G on the Plan.



Sydney Smirke. del.

J. Baskin. sc.

This arched doorway has all the characters of the Tudor period: the arch is flat, and contained within a square architrave formed chiefly of a large bold hollow: in the spandrels are shields, that on the left bears a simple cross, with the ends slightly diverging; the other, on the right, is much effaced by time, having been executed in a soft sandstone, but after repeated and close examinations, I am much inclined to believe that it bore the arms of the see of York, impaled with those of Wolsey.

I subjoin a blazon of this shield^d by a heraldic artist of well known skill (Mr. Willement); and from the same authority I learn, that on one of the bosses of the vaulting to the archway of Christchurch gate, Canterbury, is a shield with exactly the same arms impaled.

I fear that those who may take the trouble to examine this shield may be disposed to think it necessary to draw largely on the imagination before they can arrive at my conclusion; but I have only to say, that in antiquarian pursuits, much feebler indications have often led to much less probable conclusions.

I will not detain you longer except to add, that the only other remains of this Palace, that I am acquainted with are a part of the river wall, in which some of the circular bastions are distinguishable; a few fragments of other walls of no importance, and a more considerable fragment, in which occur two stone mullioned windows of Tudor architecture, at the back of the Almonry office: this wall coincides, I think, with the back wall of the apartments of the "Yeomen of the Wood-yard," as shown on Fisher's plan: I should also add, that some old walls, forming at present part of the Treasury Buildings, are no doubt the remains of some of Henry's additions to this Palace.

Before concluding, I should mention that some years ago many bones were dug up in Whitehall-yard, and the belief was then prevalent that a

^d Per pale, 1st, Azure, an episcopal staff erect, ensigned with a cross pattée, Or; surmounted by a pall Argent, charged with four crosses patée fitchée Sable, edged and fringed of the Second (being the arms formerly used as those of the See of York.)

2d, Sable, on a cross engrailed Argent, a lion passant, Gules between four leopards' heads Azure; on a chief Or, a rose of the Second, between two Cornish choughs Proper (being the private arms of Cardinal Wolsey).

murdered body had been found; but the bones were, I am informed, too numerous to admit of such a supposition. The Chapel appears by Fisher's Plan to have been very near the spot where these bones were found, it is therefore highly probable that they had been duly deposited in sacred ground, although time has now obliterated all record of its sanctity.

I feel great satisfaction in being able to draw your attention, and that of the Society, to these few relics of a building so full of historical interest: no one shall say how soon every stone of them may be swept away, although it is an act of justice to add, that his Majesty's present Surveyor General has ever shewn a degree of anxiety to rescue and preserve the remains of venerable art, which deserves the warmest thanks of every artist and antiquary.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

VI. *Proclamation of Henry the Eighth on his Marriage with Queen Anne Boleyn ; in the possession of the Corporation of Norwich : Communicated by HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V.P., in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 29th March, 1832.

Keswick, January 21, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I INCLOSE you a Copy of Henry the Eighth's Proclamation on his Divorce from Katherine and his Marriage with Anne Boleyn, which is in the possession of the Corporation of Norwich.

I am yours truly,

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

HUDSON GURNEY.

A Proclamacion devised by the Kynges Hygnes with the advyse of his Counsayle, that his subjectes be warned to avoyde (in some cases) the daunger and penaltie of the Statute of Provision and Premunire.

For as moche as the unlawful matrimonie betwene the Kynges Hyghness and the Lady Katherine, Princes Dowager, late wife to Prince Arthure, by just wayes and meanes is lawfully dissolved, and a Divorse and Separation had and done betwene his sayde Hyghnes and the said Lady Katherine by the Moste Reverende father in God the Archbishop of Canturbury, Legate and Primate of al England, and Metropolitane of the same : and thereupon

the Kynges Majestie hath lawfully married and taken to his wife, after the Lawes of the Church, the Ryght High and excellent Princes Lady Anne now Quene of England, and she solempneley crowned and anoynted as appertayneth to the laude, prayse, and honour of Almighty God, the suretie of the Kynges Succession and posterite, and to the great joy, comfort, and contentation of all the subjectes of this Realme. All whiche premisses have groundely proceded and taken their effectes, as well by the comen assent of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall and the Comens of this Realme, by auctorite of Parlyament, as also by the assent and determinations of the Hole Clergie in their severall convocations holden and kepte in bothe Provinces of this Realme, and for perfayte and sure establyshment thereof it is enacted amonge other thynges, that whatsoever person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition they be of, doe attempt or procure any maner proces, or do or move any acte or actes to the lette or derogation of any such procedynges, sentances, and determynations as is and have been done and hadde, as well in and about the said Diverse, as in the solempnisation of the lawful Matrimonie had and concluded betwene the Kynges Hyghnesse and the sayde Quene Anne, shall incurre and rounne in the peynes and penalties comprised in the Statute of Provision and Premunire made in the sixteenth yere of the late Kyng Richard the Seconde, whiche is no lesse payne than the offenders to be out of the Kynges protection, and their goodes and landes to be forfayted, and their bodies imprisoned at the Kynges wyll as by the sayde Acte more at large is expressed: By reason wherof and for as moche as the sayde Diverse and Separation is now had and done, and the Kynges Highnesse lawfully maryed, as is before rehersed, it is therefore evident and manifeste that the sayde Lady Katherine shulde not from hensforthe have or use the name, style, title, or dignitie of Quene of this Realme, nor be in any wyse reputed, taken, accepted, or written, by the name of Quene of this Realme, but by the name, style, title and dignitie of Princes Dowager, which name she ought to have, because she was lawfully and perfectly married and accoupled with the sayd Prince Arthure. And what so ever officers, ministers, bayliffes, recevours, fermours, servātis, keepers of parkes or chaces of the sayde Princes Dowager, or any other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition they be of, contrary to the premissis, do name, repute, accept, and write, or in any wise obey the

sayd Lady Katheryn, by vertu of any maner of warrāt or writing to them directed by the name of Quene, or attempte, do, or move any other acte or actes, thynges or thynges to the lette or derogation of such doinges and procedynges as is determined and accomplyshed, as well for the dissolution of the sayd unlaful mariage as for the solempnisation and confirmation of the said laful matrimonie justly finyshed and concluded, as is above rehersed, shall and dothe playnely and manifestly incurre and renne in the sayd great daungers and peynes comprised and specified in the sayde acte. In consideration wherof, all be it that the kyng our most dradde Soveraygne Lorde nothyng mystrusteth his lovyng subjectes for any attempt, acte, or actes, or any thyng to be done moved or spoken by them contrarye to the true meanyng of the sayde acte, and the due execution and procedynges in the premisses; yet, never the lesse, to thentent that his sayd humble and lovyng subjectes shall have playne, open and manifest notice of the greatte perylles, daungers, and penalties comprised and specyfyed in the sayde acte, wherby they maye eschewe the daungers therof: His Majestie therefore, of his mooste gracious and benigne goodnesse, more covaytyng and desiryng the good obediences and conformities of his sayde subjectis, than to be avaunced and enryched by theyr offences or contemptes, by the advyse of his sayde counsayle, hath caused this Proclamation to be made for a playne overture and publication of the premyssis: wherby, as well all and every his lovyng subjectes as others may (if they wyll) avoyde and eschewe the sayde greatte peynes, daungers, and penalties above especified—Wherunto his Gracis pleasure and high commaundment is, that every person from hens forth take good hede and respecte at theyr perylles.

And yet, never the lesse, the Kynges most gracious pleasure is, that the sayde Ladye Katheryne shall be welle used, obeyed, and intreted, according to her honour and noble parentage, by the name, tittle, state, and stile of Princes Dowager, as well by al hir officers, servantes, and ministers, as also by others his humble and lovyng subjectes in all hir laful busynesses and affaires: So it extende not in any wyse contrary to this Proclamation.

God save the Kyng.

W. Berthelet, Regius impressor, excudebat.
Cum Privilegio.

VII. *Description of the sepulchral Effigy of John de Sheppy, Bishop of Rochester, discovered in Rochester Cathedral, A. D. 1825, with illustrative Drawings: communicated by ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 3rd May, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

Rodney Buildings, New Kent Road,
April 4th, 1832.

I BEG to submit to the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, the Drawings which I caused to be made in August last, by Mr. John Swaine junior, student of the Royal Academy, from the Effigy of John de Sheppy, Bishop of Rochester, which was discovered in the year 1825, during the repairs which took place in Rochester Cathedral, under the superintendence of Mr. Cottingham the architect.

It was found walled up in the easternmost arch of the north side of the choir, and covered with more than two cart-loads of chalk.

The figure was lying on an altar tomb, over which is a double curved Gothic arch, as seen in Plate VII.

Intermixed with the superincumbent rubbish were found various beautiful, but sadly mutilated portions of the decorations connected with John de Sheppy's tomb, as figures of the Virgin and the infant Jesus, of the prophet Moses, portions of other small statues, branches of the vine, clusters of grapes, crockets, pinnacles, &c. all elegantly carved, painted, and gilt.

The Drawing, N^o. 2 (Plate VIII.) represents the effigy of the Bishop (cut out of a single stone) as he appeared when attired in the pontifical ornaments. He wears a costly mitre, a cope, painted to represent rich embroidery, dalmatic



Elevation and Details of the Monument of John de Shappy.



Drawn & Engraved by J.B. Payne.



Effigy of John de Sheppy Bishop of Rochester.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1793.

Engraved by J. B. Goussier.

or alb, and tunic. Against his left shoulder rests a pastoral staff, swathed with a white bandage; the head of the staff is broken off. On his hands are jewelled gloves, and on the fourth finger of the right hand is a ring, in which a ruby is represented to be set; at his feet are two dogs, having collars encircled with small bells. These animals, so often represented on tombs, were (like hawks) the accompaniments of rank. He wears boots, on which are painted the bands of the ancient sandals which they had superseded; the "*caligæ cum sandaliis*" of the Romish pontificals. Over the left arm is a rich maniple, decorated with lozenge-shaped compartments, ornamentally painted, and covered with pieces of crystal, or white transparent glass. The details of the ornaments on the Bishop's vestments are given in Plate VII.

We learn from the ancient formularies, that the *regalia* of the episcopal office (if they may be so termed) were imposed with considerable solemnity. The Bishop elect, before his consecration, retired to a side chapel, where he put on the amictus or amice; the *alb*, which, notwithstanding the name, was not always necessarily *white*, nor was it invariably made of linen cloth—the alb was confined to the body by the cingulum or girdle. The stole, a narrow slip of cloth, was thrown over the head and hung down above the alb on either side to the knees. The maniple or fanon, a napkin for removing any impurity from the sacramental cup, was placed on the arm, and over the whole was worn the chasuble^a or cope. Sometimes, like the surcoat of the military order, copes were adorned with the armorial bearings of the Bishop to whom they belonged; thus, in the thirteenth century we find Dean Geoffrey de Lucy's red velvet cope embroidered with *lucæ* or pikes, his family cognizance, and with a representation of the root of Jesse.^b

The Bishop elect then offered at the high altar two lighted torches and two barrels of wine. The pastoral staff, being previously blessed, was then delivered to him, with the words "*Accipe baculum pastoralis officii et sis in corrigendis vitiis piè sæviens,*" &c.

The ring, being also blessed, was next placed on his finger, in token of

^a Chasuble, "*quasi parva casa,*" from the protection against the weather which it afforded to the wearer; from the same reason it was also called the *Pluvial*.

^b See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 309.

his spiritual representation of the Church, the spouse of Christ. The officiating Bishop saying, "Accipe annulum fidei, scilicet signaculum quatenus sponsam Dei," &c.

The Gospels were then delivered to him, and he took the Sacrament.

The mitre, having been duly blessed, was now put upon his head; as the champion of God invested with the helmet of salvation; for such are the expressions of the formulary: "Imponimus, Domine, capiti hujus antistitis et agonistæ tui, galeam munitionis et salutis."

The gloves were then blessed. The ring being taken off, they were placed on his hands; they were *white*, as an emblem of the purity of the new man, and made of the skin of the *kid*, because Jacob obtained his father's blessing by placing "the skins of the kids of the goats" upon his hands when he personated his brother Esau.^c

"Circunda, Domine, manus hujus ministri tui munditiâ novi hominis, qui de cœlo descendit, utque admòdum Jacob dilectus tuus *pelliculis hedorum* co-opertis manibus, paternam benedictionem oblato patri cibo potumque gratissimo impetravit," are the words of the ritual. The ring was then again replaced, but on the *outside* of the glove, as it appears on the original figure^d which this paper describes.

Having digressed thus far on the subject of the imposition of the episcopal vestments, of which de Sheppy's Effigy affords so splendid an illustration, I return to the personal subject of that piece of sculpture.

John de Sheppy was originally a monk in the priory of St. Andrew's, Rochester; he was educated and patronised by his predecessor in that see, Haymo de Hethe, Confessor to Edward the Second. In 1352 he was himself elected to the see of Rochester, and consecrated Bishop the 10th of March in that year, by William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy (now St. Saviour's) Southwark, no doubt with the ceremonies which have been recited.

He must have been a man of considerable ability and general attainments, for he was appointed Chancellor of the Realm, A. D. 1356, the 30th of Edward III., and Treasurer in 1358. Some sermons of his composition

^c Genesis, chap. xxvii. v. 23.

^d The ring being on the right hand does not appear in the drawing.

are said to be still extant at New College, Oxford. He died 19th October, 1360, at his house in Lambeth, called la Place, leaving one hundred marks (a large sum for the time) to defray his funeral expences, and was buried at Rochester in a chantry of his own foundation, where he had erected an altar to St. John the Baptist, and where he directed a mass to be daily sung for the soul of his royal master the third Edward, for his own, and for the souls of all the faithful defunct.

He endowed this chapel with certain lands and tenements for the support of a chantry priest, and appointed as trustees of the endowment, the Chancellor of England, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Master of the Rolls (Clericus Rotulorum) for the time being, in perpetuo. From the revenues of the endowment the chaplain was to present the Chancellor yearly with three quarters of oats, the Chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls with two quarters each for their trouble. These oats might be considered as a *dole* for their lordships' horses, when they might themselves journey to Rochester to inspect the chantry estates and audit its accounts.

From a deed, extant in the Textus Roffensis, of John Cardon, Prior of Rochester in the time of Henry the Sixth, we find the receipts of the priest from the chantry estates commuted for an annual stipend of fourteen marks. The poet Chaucer has censured, in his day, those ecclesiastical pluralists who sought to ensure an augmentation of their worldly revenue, by obtaining, in addition to their livings, one or two of these chantry endowments. He says of his parish priest, that

— he sette not his benefice to hire,
And left his sheep incumbered in the mire,
And ran not unto London, to Seint Poules,
To seeken him a *Chantry* for *soules*.

That is, he did not abandon the spiritual instruction of his flock, to become a stipendiary drone, for the performance of a duty, nominal perhaps in many cases, or at best (as the poet, whose mind was remarkably unshackled by the superstitions of his age, conceived) absurd and useless.

John de Sheppy was buried either under the identical arch where his effigy now lies, or in some similar position between the chantry which he

had founded and the body of the Cathedral Church. The remarkable variation in the inscription, on either side of the slab on which his effigy rests, proves this circumstance. When in the chantry chapel the spectator reads, "hic jacet dñs johañs de schepeie epūs istius ecclię," Bishop of *that* church. When in the choir of the Cathedral, as before, with the alteration "episcopus *hujus* ecclesie," Bishop of *this* church.

Weever no doubt alludes to this identical effigy, when he says, Bishop John de Sheppy's portraiture is *in* the wall over his place of burial :^e precisely in such a situation was it found. The preposition *in*, which has been erroneously transcribed by the compiler of the History of Rochester *on*, shews that Weever in his description of the tomb means an *effigy* not a picture, and that this costly memorial was visible about 1631, when he published his "Funeral Monuments."

No doubt the mutilations which it has undergone were perpetrated by the soldiers of the Parliament army, whose buff coats and bandaliers remaining in the cathedral at this day, attest their having desecrated it as a military barrack. Indeed, we find the Warden and Scholars of Merton College, Oxford, recording precisely the same cause for the mutilation of the monument of their founder,^f which is placed but a few yards north-west of John de Sheppy's, and which they renewed in the year 1662.

We may conjecture that the effigy of de Sheppy was concealed during the troublesome times (with a view to the re-edification of his tomb at some future period) by the care of the pious John Warner, who was Bishop of Rochester from 1637 to 1666, a period which embraces the democratic and fanatical fury of the great Rebellion, so destructive of the memorials of the piety and taste of our ancestors.

I remain, dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

ALFRED JOHN KEMPE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

^e Fun. Monum. p. 314.

^f See Inscription on the tomb of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, transcribed in Thorpe's Regist. Roffens.

VIII. *Observations to prove Filey Bay, in Yorkshire, the Portus Felix, or Sinus Salutaris; and Flamborough Head, the Ocellum Promontorium, of the Romans; by JOHN WALKER, Esq. of Malton.*

Read 17th May, 1832.

IN the year 1821 a respectable gentleman, Thomas Thompson, Esq. of Cottingham Castle, published "*Ocellum Promontorium, or short Observations on the ancient state of Holderness.*" In page 8 of those Observations he says, "in Horsley's Map of Ptolemy's Geography, in which are inserted the names of the British tribes, we find marked on the *promontory Ocellum*, the name *Parisi*, and there is no doubt that such was the name of the inhabitants of that promontory at the invasion of the Romans," and for his authority quotes Whitaker's History of Manchester.

In page 9, he says, "it is equally certain that *Ocellum* was the name of the district called *Holderness*. The name *from its derivation*, may fairly mean the *Eye*, or exploring place; and *Baxter* agrees with *Camden* that *Ocellum* means *Spurn Head*, or *Protensum Caput* in *Parisi*, the projecting head in *Parisi*;" also on the same page he gives the following quotation from Richard of Cirencester, whose *Itinera* are well known to Antiquaries: "Ad septentrionalem hujus regionis plagam oceano occurrit fluvius Abus, quondam terminorum *provinciae Maximæ* unus, uti alter *Seteja*. Dicta quoque hæc provincia fuit *Brigantiæ Regnum*, scilicet ejusdem nominis regionem complexa, tribusque habitata nationibus. In extrema orientali plaga, ubi promontoria *Ocellum* et *Brigantum* extrema in mare procurrent, habitant *Parisii*, quorum urbes *Petuaria* et *Portus Felix*."

Having before the year 1821 offered to the public in a periodical paper, some remarks on the *Ocellum Promontorium*, very opposite to the "Observations" of Mr. Thompson, I am induced to reconsider, strengthen, and repeat my arguments in examining the "Observations" I have quoted above.

The reader of Mr. Thompson's pamphlet may perhaps suppose that either Camden, Baxter, or Mr. Thompson himself, had the opinion that "the name (*Ocellum*) from its *derivation* may fairly mean the *Eye* or exploring place;" therefore I will quote both *Camden* and *Baxter* to show their ideas of the "*derivation*," and afterwards give the conjecture of the historian *Drake*, with whom that derivation originated.

Gibson's *Camden*, edit. 1772, vol. ii. p. 109. "On the very tip of this promontory, where it draws most to a point, and is called *Spurnhead*, stands the little village *Kellnsey*; which name shows plainly that this is the *Ocellum* in *Ptolemy*, for as *Kellnsey* comes from *Ocellum*, so without doubt *Ocellum* is derived from *Y-kill*, which signifies in British a promontory or narrow slip of ground."

I will also here give a further extract from *Camden* relating to the "*Portuosus Sinus*," as I shall contend against the opinion of that eminent Antiquary, that not *Burlington* but *Filey Bay* has the best claim to that title. "Here (*Skipsea*) the shore begins again to shoot into the sea, and makes that bay which is called in *Ptolemy* *Ευλιμενον* *Gabrantovicorum*, and which some Latin translators render *Portuosus Sinus*, and others *Salutaris*. Neither of them expresses the sense of the Greek word better than that little town in the return of it, called *Suerby*. There is no reason, therefore, why we should question whether this was the very *Ευλιμενον* of the *Gabrantovici*, a people that lived in this neighbourhood." "But why this little people were called *Gabrantovici* I dare not so much as conjecture, unless perhaps the name was taken from goats, which the Britons called *Gaffran*, and of which there are not greater numbers in any part of Britain than in this place."

Baxter, p. 186, says, "*Ocelum Promontorium* quod apud *Ptolemæum* est, recte videtur *Camdeno* collocandum ad *Spurn Head*, sive *Protensum Caput*

in Paris. Est autem Ocelum de Britannorum *Ychel*, Antiquis forsan *Ochel*, quod est *Excelsum*." In these extracts we do not find the little *Eye*.

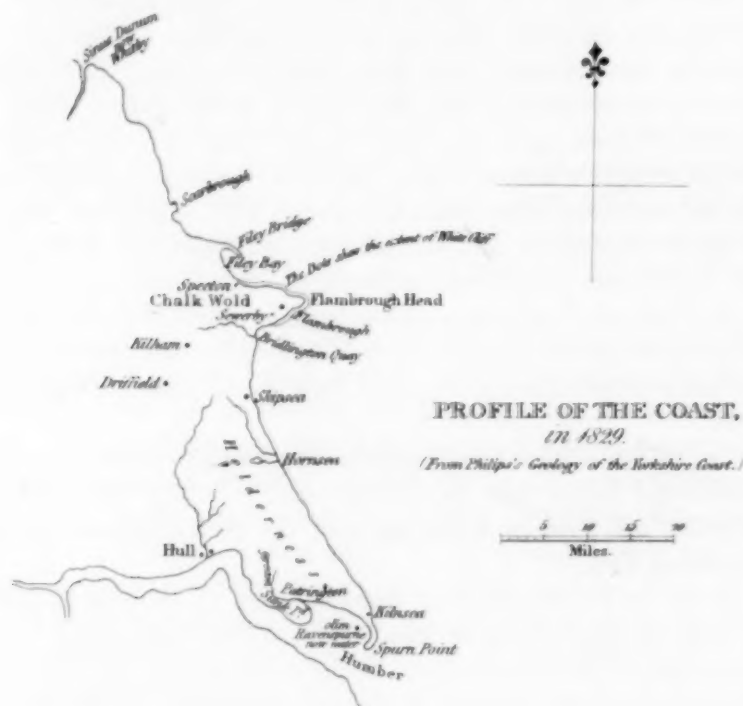
Baxter, p. 124. "Gabrantuicon Portus, de commoditate sua Ptolemæo *Ευλιμενος Κόλπος* appellatus, Latinoque interpreti *Portuosus Sinus*; unde, prodente Camdeno et vicinus Viculus hodie dictus est de securitate loci *Sureby* sive *Securus vicus*, qui in Sinu est Burlington; quem quidem Sinum ille mecum habet pro Gabrantuicon Portu. Quid autem Gabrantuicon Britannis nisi *Gavr ant* (vel gant) *ūigon*, quod Capella est ex adversum maris fluctibus? Fluctus enim maris veteribus Britannis et Uigon erat et Uion uti et Saxonibus de motu *pægen*, Anglisque *waves* vel *waven*. Kent etiam hodie Corinaviis et Aremoricis pro *Ante* est, de *Kent*, *Caput*; sicuti et nostratibus Gan vel Gant, apud est: *Gavr*, etiam *Capra* est. Fuerit igitur *Gavr-ant-ūigon* Insigne alicujus ad hunc Portum noti Hospitii publici, sicuti et sequens Gabrocentum etiam hodie Gateshead, sive *ad Caprina Capita*. Falsus est igitur Camdenus cum de Gabrantuicon genitivum fecerit pluralem, cum nullus fuerit ejus nominis popellus. Adde quod in nonnullis melioris notæ Ptolemæi libris *Γαβραντούικον* legatur, non vero *Γαβραντουίκων*. Quid quod vel ipsum nomen Burlintun (nonnullis vitiose Bridlington) ibridā dicatur compositione pro *Büch ar lin*, quod caper est ad marinum liquorem? Quid apertius?"

The learned reader will see from the preceding extracts—first, what derivation Camden and Baxter gave to *Ocelum*,—and secondly, their opinions of Portus Felix; and from the following, that the *little Eye* was a conceit of the historian of York.

Drake, p. 30. "To the name of Promontorium in Ptolemy is joined Ocellum; which is the diminutive from *Oculus*, a *little Eye*. This agrees well with the site of the place, and no doubt in the time of the Romans a watch tower was built here, not only to overlook the mouth of the Humber but as a guard to these coasts. The present name of Spurnhead, called in our English Chronicles Spurenhead, is certainly derived from the Saxon word Spyrian or Spyrizean, exquirere, scrutari, explorare, &c. to look out, watch, or explore. So remarkable a point of land as this was, might serve for the same purpose in their time as well as the former. Here was also formerly a remarkable sea-port town called Ravensburgh. I shall not

descant upon the name of this town, which carries an indelible mark of antiquity along with it."

To the preceding evidences on the question of the real site of *Ocelum* and *Portus Felix* I will place here the following sketches, that the reader may more readily examine and appreciate their testimony. The first object to which I beg attention is the profile of the coast as correctly drawn from the latest survey ;



having passed an eye along that line I will ask, if it was possible for any geographer or hydrographer (supposing the features of the coast to have been in his day nearly, if not exactly, the same in the prominences of the rocks as they are now) to overlook the striking and

extensive Promontory of Flamborough, — a promontory of white chalk, exhibiting for twelve miles in length (by projecting on the north side seven miles, and on the south five into the ocean) a bare perpendicular surface of the same white rock; in the highest part exceeding 300 feet, and surmounted in its western direction by a high earthy ridge, visible from the sea at a distance of thirty miles in sailing along the coast, either from the east, the north, or the south,—and after passing in full view this *Promontory*, without any notice in his survey, to mark, in his description of the same coast, a low, dark, clay bank, not projecting into the sea, but running parallel with it, and call it (erroneously) a *Promontory*? The answer must be that no common sailor, much less a celebrated geographer, could commit such a mistake.

When I add to the preceding extracts, the longitudes and latitudes from Ptolemy, I shall have given all that has been recorded in, or quoted from, ancient authorities on the subject, for the formation of a correct opinion on the real site of *Ocellum Promontorium* and *Portus Felix*, or *Sinus Salutaris*.

Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes:

Abi fluv. Ostia . . .	56° 30'	—	21° 0' east
Ocellum Promontorium	56 40	—	21 15 east
Portuosus Sinus . . .	57 0	—	21 0 east
Dunum Sinus . . .	57 30	—	20 45 east

The above are all the places on the coast, now Yorkshire, which Ptolemy has mentioned, and it will be observed, that from Dunum Sinus to Abi fluv. Ostia only *one* promontory is named, although Richard of Cirencester, in a preceding extract, mentions *two*: “Promontoria Oxellum et Brigantum extrema, in mare procurrent.”

Notwithstanding the incorrectness of Ptolemy's astronomical calculations of the Latitudes and Longitudes, the details appear sufficient for ascertaining the *relative* positions of *Latitude*; and, so far as *England* extends, of *Longitude* also; which the Editors of the Edinburgh Gazetteer have thus remarked: “*England* and *Ireland* (in Ptolemy's Geography) appear correct in their outline, and even the details of the Scottish coast are given with tolerable accuracy.” Ptolemy has assigned *different Latitudes* to *Abi fluv.*

Ostia, now *Spurn point*, and *Ocelum Promontorium*; therefore we may conclude without doubt, that *he* did not place *Ocelum* at the *Spurn*:—*Abi fluv.* $56^{\circ} 30'$, and *Ocelum* $56^{\circ} 40'$. This difference will not carry *Ocelum* so far to the north as *Flamborough*; yet that must have been the *Promontory* intended, for the coast from *Ostia Abi* to *Flamborough* is low, very low, therefore *Ocelum*, the Romanised British word for *high*, (as the *Ochel* hills and other heights, named *Ochel*, *Uchel*, and *Uxel*, sufficiently testify,) must have meant *Flamborough*; which being also the only projection into the sea, in that distance, no other place can agree with "*in mare procurrent.*" Another confirmation that *Ptolemy* applied *Promontorium* to heights, is derived from the fact that he has given that title to thirteen other places on the British coast, all of which are *High Cliffs*.

By the Longitudes of *Ptolemy*, viz.—*Abi fluv.* *Ostia* 21° , and *Ocelum Promontorium* $21^{\circ} 15'$, we have the confirmation of "*in extrema orientali plaga*;" for, fixing *Ocelum* at *Flamborough*, as it must be to agree with *Richard of Cirencester's Map*, according to *Sketch No. 2*; it will there be seen, that "*in extrema orientali plaga*" is not placed at the *Abi Ostia*, or the *Spurn*, but some distance to the north of it, and there (*in extrema orientali*) *Richard of Cirencester* says, that two *Promontories* existed. It is evident from this observation alone, that *Ptolemy* and *Richard* did not, in either of their Maps, place *Ocelum Promontorium* at the *Spurn* or "*Abi Ostia.*"

It is true that the *Spurn point* which is at "*Abi Ostia*," is "*in extrema orientali plaga*," as now laid down in the charts of the coast, but that does not invalidate the argument that *Flamborough Head* was, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Ocelum Promontorium*. His Longitudes were wrong, but he thought them right, and formed his Map accordingly: and it is *his* intention that is to be established, that is, what place or site he named *Ocelum Promontorium*.

When *Camden* was caught by the sound of a name, as he appears to have been by "*Killnsea*," he imagined that name might be derived from "*Y-kill*," but, from the meaning he gives to the name, it is clear that he was ignorant that the site of *Kilnsea* was on a low sea bank, and far from corresponding to the derivation of *Y-chil* or *Ochel*; if he had ever seen the place,

doubtless he would have looked for another site entitled to the distinction of a *Promontory*, and would not have derived Kilnsea from Y-kill. Examining that name further, he might have found its derivation in *Ravenchill*. By Domesday book it is shewn that the owner of territory here and at Redmere, a place adjoining, or very near, but long since destroyed by the sea, was one Ravenchill, who probably derived his name from the place, like the well known origin of many other names of the lords or owners of the sites. It is rather remarkable that Baxter should coincide with Camden in the derivation of Killnsea, for he has given us the meaning of *Chil* or *Kil*, but he too cannot have been aware that the site did not agree with the British "Ochel." According to Baxter, *Chil* or *Kil* means a *recess* or *sinus*; and *Raven* is derived by two^a eminent etymologists from the same root as *Rain*, and implies *Sea*. *Ravenchill* and *Killnsea* are therefore synonymous, and agree with the feature of the place.

Both the antiquaries, Camden and Baxter, must have known that *Ocellus* was Latin for a *little Eye*, yet *they* did not attempt to fix a Roman watch tower at the Humber mouth from such a name. That the Romans built watch towers on the coast of Britain, they as well as Ptolemy must have known, and had such a tower existed in his time at Abi fluv. Ostia, that geographer would not have overlooked it, but certainly he would not have designated a watch tower by *Ocellum*; no such name for a watch tower, I believe, is to be found in any Roman author or historian. Besides, *Ocellum* is the accusative of *Ocellus*, and not for that reason appropriate as a name. That the Romans gave a Latin termination to British names is well known, and this confirms the opinion that the Ochel of the Britons was Romanized into Ochellum or Ocellum, as was Uchel into Uxellum, or Uxellodunum in other places. The historian of York imagined also that the watch tower first erected by the Romans as "*a little Eye*," was continued by the Saxons as a *Spying* place, and called a *Spurn* or *Spuren*, from *Spyrian*, the Saxon for "to look out," &c. &c.

It might be expected that such a building would have left some "wreck behind," or that some historical or traditional knowledge of it might have

^a General Vallancey and Dyer.

been found. In the absence of even the least confirmation of either kind, and from strong evidence of the real origin and meaning of *Spurn*, our assent cannot be given to the conclusions of *Drake*, and the confident assertions of the worthy but mistaken *Thomas Thompson*, Esquire, of Cottingham, who tells us that "it is *certain* 'Ocellum' was the name of a *district* called Holderness;" so that *the little Eye* was not only a *watch tower* but a sea coast of some thirty miles in length. It appears strange that a person (who from his residence at Hull had a perfect knowledge of the coast) recording his observations of the Humber and its *sea ports*, and particularly calling attention to one port, which by its name might have suggested the origin of *Spurne*, and having argued in favour of its having been a Roman station, and a port from which the Romans shipped corn for the Rhine, should have overlooked an origin so evident. In *Ravenspurne*, no doubt a very ancient seaport, situate just within the mouth of the Humber, we actually see the much mistaken origin of *Spurne* and *Spurne Point*. The termination of this name is all that now remains of a very ancient town, but it is questionable if it was ever a *Roman* seaport. Here again we have to correct error in etymology, for Mr. Thompson says, the name *Ravenspurne* intimates its *Saxon* existence; meaning, I understand, that the two words forming the name, *Raven*, or *Raun*, as anciently pronounced, and *Spurne*, are both *Saxon*; let us observe the application of both names, for then we shall most probably find the interpretation of them to be the *features* of the country.

Ravensbourne, *burn*, *spurne*, and *sere*, have been the names by which this site was distinguished. *Raven* we find on the sea coast, sometimes pronounced *Rain* or *Ren*, as near Speton we have *Rain* or *Ren-cliff*, and near Whitby on the coast *Ravenhill*, and not only on the sea coast but near water in inland places, *Raven*, *Rain*, and *Ren* form part of the local names. Modern and eminent etymologists inform us, as I have observed before, that *Raven* is derived from the same root as *Rain*, and implies Sea and Water. *Bourne*, *Burn*, and *Spurn*, (the latter evidently derived from the former, as *b* and *p*, it is well known, are commutable in ancient names,) are the names of streams, brooks, rivulets, as numerous sites testify. *Sere* is also a stream, as the river *Isere*, &c. *Ravensbourne* then implies a sea brook, or stream running into a large river. The same name occurs in Kent, a rivulet

there runs into the Thames, and is now called Ravensbourne. Can it be requisite to show further that *Spurn* (Gaelic), or Spurne Point, is merely the latter part of the name of the feature of the place, and afterwards of that of the town or seaport, which took its name, as many others have done, from the original name of the site, and which existed ages before the town; as *Scar-de-berg*, on the same coast, was the name of a striking feature before the Castle of the Albemarle was erected on its brow, and under its protection a town afterwards rose to eminence. Also Strenshale (now Whitby, from Whit,^b high), meaning Strand-hill.

In Domesday Book neither *Ravenspurne* nor *Scar-de-berg*, *Scarborough*, are to be found; therefore, not being known as towns then, we may conclude that, instead of a town, Ravensbourne was merely a creek in the time of the Romans, and that *Prætorium* was the Roman town or station, situate further within the Humber; Mr. Thompson, in his "Observations," has given an opinion that the Roman *Prætorium* was at *Ravenspurne*. The following extracts, if worthy of any notice on the subject, decide differently, and as authority the Itinera are held in high estimation by Antiquaries.

Antonine, Iter i.	Richard, Iter v. the same as Iter i. of Antonine.	and Iter xvii.
from Eboraco		from Lincoln—Lindo
to Derventione m. p. vii m. p. vii	to In Medio .. m. p. xv
Delgovicia m. p. xiiii m. p. xiiii	Ad Abum .. m. p. xv
Prætorio .. m. p. xxv m. p. xxv	unde transis in Maximam
		Ad Petuariam .. m. p. vi
		deinde Eboraco ut Iter v. m. p. xlv.

The site of *Prætorium* and *Petuarium* (for, whichever name is most correct, the site is the same,) must be forty-five Roman miles, or m. p. (mille passuum), from York; and the breadth of the Abos at that site, 6 m. p. (six miles?); also the distance from the south side of the Abos or Abum to Lincoln thirty miles. No site agrees so well with these particulars as Pa-

^b Many places having the pronomen *Whit* corrupted to *White*, are on hills. In *Whitstone Cliff*, Yorkshire, the stone is dark, not white; yet it is often called *White*. Also *Whitwell*, near Malton, on the brow of a hill, is frequently misnamed *White*. Many other instances occur. This is confirmed by the modern etymologist I have before alluded to.

trington Haven; therefore, at or near Patrington we may, with the greatest probability at least, fix the *Prætorium* of the Roman Itinerary in Britain.

The mention of only *one* promontory by Ptolemy on the Yorkshire coast raises a doubt of the correctness of Richard, or his transcribers, in the word *Promontoria*; for "*Ocelum Promontorium et extrema Brigantum*" might, and perhaps did, mean only one Promontory; *Extrema* is either an adjective or a noun plural, and cannot in either case imply a Promontory; most certainly "*Extrema Brigantum*" could not indicate in the slightest degree *a Promontory*, had not the previous "*Promontoria*," and the conclusion "*in mare procurrent*," led to that construction. If, however, two Promontories were intended, apparently *in contiguity*, as "*Ubi*" intimates, which is highly improbable, where shall we find a proper neighbour to the lofty and magnificent Flambrough? Not a projection into the sea appears on the south side, and on the north, the nearest is the Mole at Filey. It is not improbable that this mole was once covered by a similar mass of earth as that which now rests upon the adjoining cliff, and that the stone base of that mass also once presented a more elevated front to the sea. Supposing the Mole, now appearing above low water mark, to have extended for a mile, and the ridge, by soundings, is found under the sea for two miles, another Promontory would then have existed at Filey. But dark and insignificant as, comparatively with Flamborough, or Flamburg, the Filey Promontory might appear, yet no other projection into the sea on this coast could vie with it, and the low Saxon Ness at the Spurn, had no pretensions to the name from either its site or appearance, any more than *Clea Ness* on the opposite side of the Humber, or *Skitter Ness* higher up the stream; against all of which the tides rise nearly to their level. The modern name (Flamburg or Flamborough) of the ancient *Ocelum Promontorium*, is of Danish original, and of similar import to *Flenborg* in Denmark, implying a hill, or cliff on the sea, or on water. *Flen* and *Flam* are synonymes, both, according to a celebrated etymologist, implying *Stream* or moving water.

Although the Spurn Ness projects now into the Humber, yet from the changes it has undergone, and also the site of Ravenspurne town being now always overflowed by the river, it may be questioned whether the land here did in Ptolemy's time project even into the Abos, certainly not into the sea,

for the Holderness coast and the Spurn point of land ranges with the line of the Lincolnshire coast, and if the Humber was taken away, and the sea-tides prevented flowing up by an embankment, then only a valley or slight undulation would separate the two counties: this view strengthens the opinion that Ptolemy's Ocellum could not be at the Abi Ostia or the Spurn Ness. It is evident that the Ness has been formed by the changeable windings of a powerful stream, which have scooped a hollow on the Yorkshire bank and deserted the Lincolnshire side.

If we examine the Chart of Ptolemy published by the Society of Antiquaries, and sketched in No. 1, (see Plate IX.) we shall see a projection of land into the sea adjoining a bay, which is designated "Gabrantuicorum Portuosus Sinus." This projection, if elevated ground, must have been a promontory, and on the scale of that Chart must have been equal to Flamborough; and, according to the distance from Abi Ostia, it is on the same site. Where "Ocellum" is placed, no projection appears, and knowing the low state of the coast there, which in the earliest ages must have been the same, can we hesitate in fixing Ocelum at this projection? Surely not.

In Sketch No. 2, of Bertram's Chart, added by him to Richard of Cirencester's description of Britain, from other ancient authorities, we see "Brigantum Extrema" placed to the most easterly projection north of the Abos, and "Ocelum Promontorium" without any distinctive mark, but stretching along the coast from Extrema Brigantum to the Abos. The "Extrema" here can apply only to "Plaga," or the broad projection of the land, as "Extrema Flavia" does on the more southern part of the east coast, confirming the opinion of only one Promontory, according to Ptolemy.

In Sketch No. 3, I have placed the name "Ocelum" to the projection in Ptolemy's Chart which appears most appropriate in the two rude outlines, as they certainly are, of this coast.

The Sketch No. 4, presents an elevation drawn in due proportion, of Spurn point, and the White Cliff Promontory of Flamborough.

Filey Bay (the Portuosus Sinus) and Filey (the Portus Felix) of Ptolemy and the Romans.

Having declared my intention of opposing the opinion of Camden (from
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a conviction of its error), and of showing that Filey and the Bay, and not Bridlington or Bridlington Bay, were the Portuosus Sinus and Portus Felix; and having fixed, I think truly, Ocellum Promontorium at Flamborough, the only consideration that follows, (if I am right in the site of the Promontory,) is where to the north of it the *Portus Felix* and the Bay were situated; for to the north we must look, and in consequence deprive Bridlington Bay and all places to the south of any claim; a claim resting solely on Camden, the celebrated author of the "*Magna Britannia*," certainly an authority not to be opposed on slight grounds. Camden depending, as he acknowledges, entirely on a name, to which he has inadvertently given a wrong construction, tells us, *that name* alone determines the site. His words, as I have quoted before from Gibson's edition of the *Britannia*, are, that "the little town *Sureby* expresses the sense of Ptolemy's *Eulimenon*, as well as Portuosus Sinus or Salutaris, therefore there is no reason to question that *Sureby* is the very Sinus Salutaris."

A knowledge of the coast would have prevented this conclusion. *Sureby*, or as now named *Sewerby*, is not a sea port; it is merely a small village near a perpendicular cliff, too high for any possibility of an immediate or direct communication with the sea by a port, nor is there any anchorage under the shelter of its cliff. There is no reason to suppose its origin more ancient than Bridlington, (for the names may be equally traced to the Celtic), and in importance it has not any appearance of ever having been a rival to Bridlington in any way; the circuitous communication from the sea with *Sureby* must always have prevented the site from being convenient as a maritime residence, either in a military or commercial view, but other reasons, perhaps more decisive, will appear.

The only sense in which *Suerby* can agree with *Salutaris*, is a *Sure* or *Safe Dwelling*; but *Sureby* does not mean in ancient names a *sure* or *safe dwelling*, as *Camden* suggests, and in which *Baxter*, in quoting him, appears to acquiesce; but that he should, must surprise any person who knows that in his Glossary he has given the *Celtic* meaning of *Sar*, *Sor*, *Sur*, and the *Anglo-Saxon* of *Sour*; in both languages they imply *Amnis* or *Flumen*. *Seurby* means from this derivation a *Dwelling on a Stream*, and that is the feature of the site at *Sewerby*; a small stream of fresh water issues from the

cliff on which the village stands; in confirmation we find *Sowerby* the present name of similar sites. Ptolemy's Greek does not appear to apply to any Celtic name, it is merely descriptive of a Fine Bay and Safe Port, and situate not far north of Ocellum Promontorium, for Ptolemy's latitude fixes it at 57° , and Ocellum at $56^{\circ} 40'$.

At the Roman invasion of Britain, the bays and ports were all in their natural state; no artificial moles, piers, or breakwaters defended either one or the other. We have then to look for a bay and port answering this description and situation. On the whole of the Yorkshire coast we cannot find a bay which can rival in any degree in natural security the Bay of Filey. The promontory, now a mole, on the north side of this Bay, would afford the best protection to ships or gallies that existed from Dunum Sinus to Ocellum; and the mole, even in its present state, is the best natural protection for ships in the entire extent of that distance. Within the mole there always has been good anchorage for larger ships than were navigated by the Romans, and the approach open to the sea from every quarter without danger. We saw the little fleet of twelve Filey fivemen boats, and vessels of larger burthen than Roman gallies, riding safely at anchor under the shelter of this mole when a gale of wind from the north and north-east was driving the waves furiously on that protecting rocky reef, ridge, mole, pila, or, erroneously, bridge.

Should Scarborough appear to agree better with Ptolemy's latitude, it must be observed that the coast there is so covered with rocks, so unsheltered, and without anchorage, that in its natural state it could not be a "Sinus Salutaris," or "Portus Felix;" besides, from the known errors of Ptolemy in his calculations, except as an approximation to the relative north or south site of his bays and harbours, we cannot determine by *exact* distances, as *now* ascertained, their real place on the coast.

Why this bay and port were called "Gabrantuicorum," Camden says, "he dare not so much as conjecture;" yet afterwards hazards an explanation, certainly a strange one, that it originated from "Goats," of which he says, that "there are not a greater number in any part of Britain than in this place." If that was the fact in *Camden's* time, it is clear that the breed is now entirely lost; and why, it would be difficult to explain, when the

country is as proper now for goats as it ever can have been. But is it not rather a comical conjecture that the inhabitants were called *Goats* because the country produced such animals? *Baxter* does not allow that the name was applied to the inhabitants, but to the features of the coast, wavering in his explanation, between *Capella* and *Caput* as the meaning of "*Gabrant*." He considers that Camden errs in the name by calling it "*Gabrantuicorum*," when the original Greek is *Gabrantuicon*, and "*Uicon*" he translates "*fluctus*," in English "*Waves*." As I cannot agree with Camden, whose opinion is not confirmed by either history or tradition, that no part of Britain was more famous, or, indeed, that this part ever was famous in any respect for *Goats*, although the region of the adjoining wolds no doubt always was for *Sheep*, to which not improbably Camden might apply the name of *Goats*; and also, as I cannot find any authority in Gaelic names for either *Capella* or *Caput* as the meaning of *Gabrant*, I will venture to offer a different etymological derivation, certain that I cannot err more egregiously than one at least of those celebrated antiquaries. I am encouraged by Mr. Thompson to dip into etymology, for he says, "Every antiquary must of necessity be an etymologist,—to enable him to illustrate ancient compound names." And an etymologist of high rank induces me more powerfully to venture an opinion:—he says, "the author of this Treatise (A Restoration of the Ancient Modes of bestowing Names on the Rivers, Hills, Vallies, Plains, and Settlements of Britain, published 1805), boasts of no literary attainments, but in pursuing his subject, the deficiency of learning became a very inferior consideration. *He perceived that the etymology of old names proceeded from roots hitherto unknown, and he was obliged himself to show this truth.*—With REASON and REFLECTION for his guides, the author has endeavoured to open a path to the Etymology of Old Names. From his expositions of the denominations of the Island, its Provinces, Towns, Rivers, Vallies, and Plains, he conceives that these have been, with very few exceptions, **WRONGLY RENDERED BY ALL OUR AUTHORS!**"

Instead of considering *Gabrant* as one word, according to Camden and Baxter; authorised by the principles of etymology adopted in the last Treatise, I will divide it into GA and BRANT, both Gaelic names; the first implies *Hill*, as GAU and CAU; G and C being commutable; *Brant* is *Water*,

either *Sea* or *River*, and is found in names of rivers at this day in Britain ; thus we have a *hill* on the *Sea*, or a *River* ; and *Uici* is also Gaelic, in *Orduici*, &c. a British tribe, and as best explained in that name, means *Dwellers* ; the interpretation of *Gabrantuici*, from the site to which it is applied, is evidently, "Inhabitants of the Hill or High Ground on the sea-coast."

In Bertram's Map, see No. 2, (Plate IX.) the name *Parisi* appears on the district now called *Holderness* ; and *Parisi*, according to the interpretation of the Treatise before mentioned, implies *Dwellers* on the *WATER LAND*, which is nearly synonymous with *Holder* in *Holderness*. The name *Gabrantuici*, (*Dwellers* on the *Sea Hill*, or *Cliff*), agrees best with the cliffs and hills of *Filey Bay*, and least (or not in the least) with *Burlington* or *Bridlington Bay*, where the coast is very low. The latter names do not synonymise with *Gabrantuici*, although no doubt ancient. *Brid* is *Stream*, and the name of the river at *Bridport*. *Bur*^a is *border*, and both *Bur* and *Brid* are appropriate, the first to the site on the border of the sea, and the second to the stream which runs into the sea there ; and consequently either name might be used by the earliest inhabitants. *Ing-ton* or *Ling-ton*, has the same meaning in both names and is very common ; the *l* might be inserted to soften the sound, being what Grammarians call a liquid, or it may change the word from *Stream Ings* or *Border Ings* to *Stream Land* or *Border Land*.

The interpretation here given, from the authority of the latest and closest investigation of an able modern Etymologist, to *Gabrantuici* (*Dwellers* on the *Sea Hill*) strengthens in no small degree the claim of *Filey Bay* to the Roman distinction of *Sinus Salutaris*. With a *Bay* so distinguished, we ought to expect a Roman communication into the interior country, an expectation not disappointed, for we can trace an undoubted Roman road from this *Bay* to the British and Roman-British *Camulodunum* (*Malton*) and thence to the *Vallum* and *Caledonia*.

^a *Bur* may also be an abbreviation of *burn*, a *stream*, if so, a synonyme of *brid*. The *buch-ar-lin* of Baxter is too wild. *Brydancombe*, *Bredcombe*, *Burcombe*, near *Wilton*, *Shropshire* ; in *Domesday* it is called *Burcombe*.

A stream near *Bath* is called the *Bure*.

This Roman road has lately been rendered remarkable by the discovery of an immense collection of ashes and burnt human bones, fragments of urns, and Roman coins. A large urn, filled with ashes and burnt human bones, was found in a tumulus at Knapton, near some lines of ancient entrenchments; and has been presented by —— Tindall, Esq. to Thomas Hinderwell, Esq. the Historian of Scarborough. The annexed is a representation of it:



	Ft.	In.
Height	1	6
Circumference of top rim	2	2
Ditto middle	4	8
Ditto bottom	1	9

Colour a brick red.

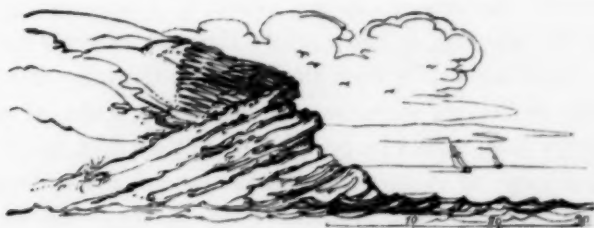
The ashes, burnt bones, Roman coins, fragments of urns, and one entire human skeleton found at Knapton, covered the remarkable extent of two acres and a half, from two to five feet deep. Time had covered this great collection of human ashes with a coat of firm earth and grass.

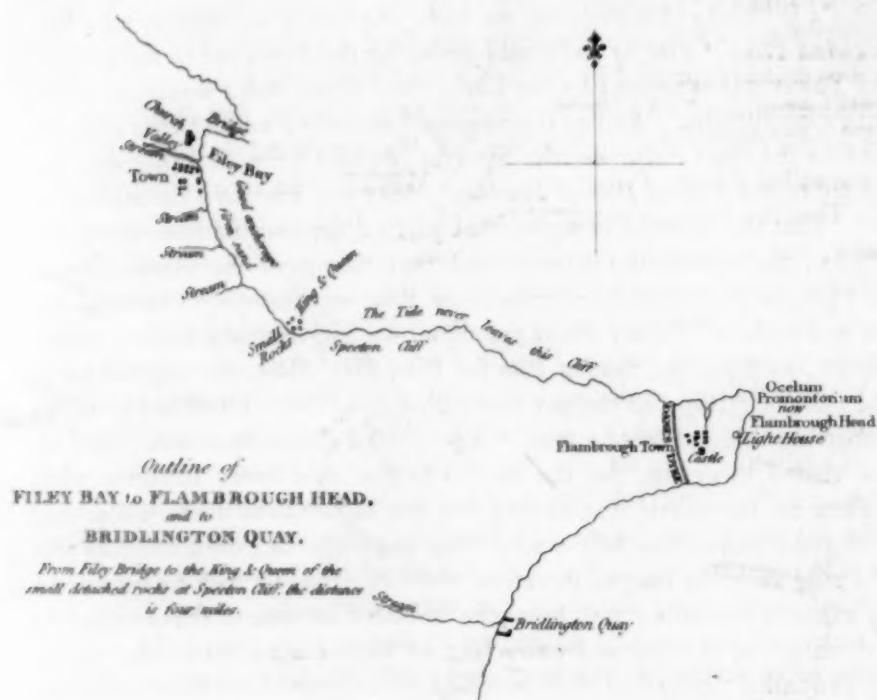
These ashes were all carried to the tillage land for the turnip crop. "To what strange uses may we come at last!"

The historian of York, Drake, mentions a Roman camp at Flotmanby, on the same road. And Scampston or *Camp*-ton sufficiently indicates another Roman site, near which there are tumuli yet remaining.

If the Roman geography gave the name of "Sinus Salutaris" to Filey Bay, which the evidence produced in the preceding sketch by the natural features and records appears to confirm, then, perhaps we are led to a better origin of the name (Filey) than Camden in the following extract has given: "As the shore winds itself back a thin slip of land, (like a small

tongue thrust out), shoots into the sea, such as the old English called *File*; from which the little village *Filey* takes its name." In another part of Camden's *Britannia* (Lancashire), we have the following remark on a district called *File*: "*File*, as one would guess, for the *Field*, yet in the records of the Tower it is expressed by the Latin word *Lima*, which signifies a *File*, a smith's instrument." And on the maps of Lancashire we find *Pile* sands in the sea on the coast; also on the Ness of Walney Island in the sea, the rocks are called *Pile* or *Pile of Foudray*. May not *File* be a corruption of *Pile*? That the Romans occupied that part of Britain, the historian of it, *Whitaker*, has sufficiently proved: and that they gave the Roman name *Pila*, *Phila*, as pronounced anciently, now *Pile*, expressive of a mole, as the sands and rocks of Walney Point yet shew, we can scarcely doubt: if this is correct, we have the Roman *Pila* for *Pile*, *File*, *Filey*, the original name of the mole or "Brig," in the bay now called Filey Bay. Camden has called this shelving ridge of rock, a thin "slip of land;" another proof that he never visited this coast, for the reef is half a mile broad next the cliff, and there on the north side twenty-five feet high at the least, stretching into the sea more than half a mile from the projecting cliff, which is also half a mile more in length, therefore the whole length as now seen from Filey sands is one mile; and, from the annexed Sketch, this reef rising in the direction of the sea, and extending in former ages above the sea, at least two miles further, as the soundings prove, must have been a striking promontory.





The length from the east end shown above, to where the rock disappears in the sand at the west end, is half a mile ; the rock extends into and above the sea at the least half a mile from the east end, therefore the rise of rock at its extremity in the sea according to the above scale, in which it rises more than twenty feet, would be perhaps more than fifty feet, a height and a projection too large to escape the observation of any hydrographer, and therefore might be the second promontory of Bertram's edition of Richard Cirencester. The present low state of the mole at the sea extremity, has evidently been caused by the violence of the waves, which have torn up the strata from their various beds. But as the reef, pile, or file, extends two

saccharum

N.º 1.

Votre Flu.

The dotted lines show the extent of Yorkshire.

Deutsche Sprache

Gabranthracinus
Portinus *Sorbus*

*Oedon
Prunellarius*

133

Nº 2.

Vallbona Severina

Mordant

Discussion

Advertisement

Patruaria

Page 1

— Folio

Brigantia
Extrema

Occasion Prominent.

14

[Faint handwritten notes]

5

Londinium A

Theophrastus

from

BERTRAM'S MAP OF BRITAIN.
part of the East Coast.

*This Map was added to Richard of Cirencester's Itinera,
published MDCCCIX, in London,
and drawn by Bartram from ancient Maps.*

Appearance of Ocellum Promontorium near Flamborough Head. From the East.

Journal of Management

Dilettant Earth

Flandborough Head

Sea level. 7 miles of White Cliff. North side

Discussion

Conclusions

Fleming's Novel

Sea line. 5 miles of White Cliff. South side

Appearance of Spurn Point.

Number



Авторы

Low Rise Low Arch Road

Outlines of the Yorkshire Coast near Flamborough Head.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1933

miles under the sea, as ascertained by soundings, if we allow a continuation of the rise for only one mile further above the sea, at the time of the Roman possession of this bay, then we have a promontory of one hundred feet elevation at its head; and consequently two promontories "in extrema orientali plaga" of Richard of Cirencester. At low tides a branch of stones appears from the natural mole, laid with such regularity as to show that an attempt has been made, at some period beyond the memory of man, to form a pier to improve the shelter of the natural mole for ships requiring a considerable depth of water; and within this, quite in the angle formed by the earthy cliff with the mole, a harbour for small vessels or fishing boats has existed, probably for laying up in the winter; the place is yet marked by a few of the stones remaining where a sea wall, for protection from storms with a southerly wind, once guarded the property of the resident fishermen, who yet call it the haven.

In this bay, naturally the best sheltered and always affording an extensive firm anchorage, we can have no doubt that a fleet of Roman gallies, the *ælia classica* or light frigates, *naves lusoriæ*, known to have been stationed on this coast, must frequently have anchored in their cruises for its protection. Scarborough Bay having a shore of black rocks and scars, only slightly covered in places with sand, afforded no anchorage and very little shelter from tempestuous winds. And Burlington Bay, no better guarded from wind although possessing good anchorage, could be considered only a *fine weather* bay. It is evident then that Filey Bay would be a principal station or rendezvous for the fleets of the Romans during their sovereignty of the island.

We must leave the omission of Ptolemy, who names only one promontory on this part of the coast, entirely unaccounted for if two promontories really existed, unless the magnificent superiority in extent, height, and colour, of Ocelum Promontorium so far eclipsed the other as to render it unworthy the notice of Ptolemy.

IX. *Charters relative to the Priory of Trulegh in Kent ; Communicated by Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter to JOHN GAGE, Esq., F.R.S., Director.*

Read 7th June, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

DURING my last excursion to France I had the good fortune to preserve some original charters relative to the Priory of Trulegh in Kent, which was a Cell to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, in France, of which Priory very little has been discovered either by Dugdale, Tanner, or the Editors of the New Monasticon.

In addition to the charters in my own possession, I found in the library at St. Omer the Cartulary itself of the Priory, written on paper, probably about the fifteenth century. Tanner refers to the following works concerning this Priory :

The Monasticon, tom. i. page 1038.

Stevens's Supplement, vol. i. p. 40.

Hasted's Kent, vol. ii. p. 767-9.

Prynne's Records, vol. iii. p. 707-1021.

Somneri Vita Walteri Reynolds, Archiep. Cant.

The Deeds, which I have the honour of laying before the Society, consist of the original Grant of Trulegh from Hamond fitz Herfrey to the Abbey of St. Bertin, at the request of Marsilius the Monk, for the soul of himself, Mabilia his former wife, and of his parents, in perpetual alms, in which grant his wife Matilda and his sons and daughters join. And the Convent granted on their part, that the said Hamond should partake of all the benefits of mass, alms, vigils, fasts, prayers, &c. in the said church ;

and that his anniversary should be enrolled in their Martyrology, and recited annually in their Chapter.

Among the witnesses are,

Clarembald, Abbot of Feversham,

Hugh, Sheriff of Kent,^a

Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Peter de Badlesmere his brother.

The Bull of Adrian is a confirmation of the grant or confirmation of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Leo, Abbot of St. Bertin, of the rectories of Trulegh and Chilham in Kent.

With the deeds here transcribed, several other bulls and charters were found, it is said, in digging up the foundations of the Abbey of St. Josse, all relating to the Abbey of St. Bertin.

The history of these Deeds since the Revolution, is so singular that I may perhaps be excused if I relate it here, although its romantic air may incline some persons to doubt its truth.

It is said that at the time of the destruction of monasteries in France, the Convent of St. Bertin at St. Omer, hoping the fury of the Revolution in 1789-92 would soon be spent, and that they might afterwards return and resume their former possessions, resolved to secure their most ancient and valuable documents, by sending them to another monastery (the Abbey of St. Josse), in Normandy or Picardy, with orders that they should be buried under the foundations of that Abbey.

This I am told was executed; for upon the sale of monastic lands, which cut off for ever the return of the monks, the Abbey of St. Josse was sold to a gentleman (the father of the person from whom they were bought) who determined to erect a house upon the site or with the materials of the ruins, and in excavating the foundations for that purpose, he is said to have discovered a box containing these deeds and bulls, among which, I was informed, the original foundation charter of the Monastery of St. Bertin was found, of the seventh or eighth century. This valuable charter was included in my purchase; but it had been previously sent for the inspection of the Bishop of

^a Hugh de Dover is the only Hugh who was sheriff of Kent at the period in which this charter must have been written, and his shrievalty lasted three years, from the 8th to the 11th of Henry II. between 1162 and 1165. Haisted says, the rectory was granted by William de Ipré in 1153 to St. Bertin.

Arras, and could not be immediately procured. The whole of the collection was purchased at Calais from the gentleman who I believe was the son of the discoverer, and who gave me this statement.

If the Society should deem these notes worthy of preservation in the *Archæologia*, I shall feel happy in having contributed to its stores of information; but I consider their chief value to be, the supplying a deficiency in the *New Monasticon*.

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

To JOHN GAGE, Esq.
Director of the Soc. Antiq.

Grant of Trulegh, in Kent, to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, in France.

Universis Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fidelibus Hamundus filius Herefridi salutem. Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod Ego Hamundus filius Herefridi, cum uxore mea Matilde filiisq; meis et filiabus, pariterq; petitione karissimi nostri Marsilii monachi, concessi et dedi Abbati G. et Monachis Ecclesiæ S^{ti} Bertini, pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ Mabilie et parentum meorum, Ecclesiam de Thrulege in elemosinam, liberè et quietè in perpetuum possidendam. Sed et ipsi Monachi concesserunt, omnium beneficiorum quæ fiunt in supradictâ Ecclesiâ suâ in perpetuum me esse participem: Missarum, videlicet, elemosinarum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, orationum, et aliorum bonorum quibus ille locus in æternum vacabit. Concessum est etiam mihi anniversarium meum in Martyrologio eorum post obitum meum scribendum, et in capitulo eorum annuatim recitandum. Nemo igitur super predictâ Ecclesiâ predictis Monachis fiat molestus, nec animæ suæ adquirat periculum, unde meæ adquiero premium.

Legitimè namq; eam illis in elemosinam confero, et legitimè collatam presenti cartâ confirmo. Hujus rei testes sunt Clarembaldus Abbas de Fauresham, Normannus monachus ejus, Nicholaus decanus, Magister Osbertus, Haymo presbyter de Trulegh, Ædmundus presbyter de Chilleham, Willielmus filius Alexi, Thomas clericus, Karolus clericus, Willielmus clericus de Chilleham, Hugo Vicecomes de Chent, Bartholomeus de Badelesmere,

Petrus frater ejus, Clemens de Scrinlinge, Osbertus de Hucham, Gilebertus camerarius Vicecomitis, Daniel de Sillingehull, et alii plures.

Indorsed,

"Karta Haymonis de Truleia primum donum."

Seal of green wax,—a man on horseback with sword and shield.

I transcribe both to shew the variation in the orthography of the proper names.

Universis Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fidelibus H. filius Herefridi sāl. Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod Ego Haymo filius Herefredi, cum uxore mea Matilda et filiis meis et filiabus, concessi Abbati G. et Monachis Ecclesiæ S'ti Bertini, pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ Mabiliæ et parentum meorum, Ecclesiam de Thruleche, in possessionem liberè et quietè in perpetuum habendam. Sed et ipsi Monachi omnium beneficiorum quæ fiunt in Ecclesiâ suâ in perpetuum me concesserunt esse participem: Missarum, scilicet, elemosinarum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, orationum, et aliorum bonorum, quibus locus ille in æternum vacabit. Concessum est etiam mihi anniversarium meum in martirologio eorum post obitum meum scribendum, et capitulo eorum annuatim recitandum. Nemo igitur super predictâ Ecclesiâ predictis monachis fiat molestus nec animæ suæ adquirat periculum, unde meæ adquire premium. Legitimè namq; eam illis in elemosinam confero, et legitimè collatam presenti cartâ confirmo. Testes: Clarebaldus, Abbas de Fareshom, Normannus monachus ejus, Nicholaus dechanus, Magister Osbertus, Haymo presbyter de Trulee, Eadmundus presbiter de Chillehom, Willielmus filius Elsi, Thomas clericus, Karolus clericus, Willielmus clericus de Chillehom, Hugo Vicecomes de Chent, Bartholomeus de Bedelesmere, Petrus frater ejus, Clemens de Scrinlinge, Osbertus de Huchom, Gilebertus camerarius Vicecomitis, Daniel de Silinghulle.

Indorsed,

"De Trullega—H. filius Herefridi."

Seal of white wax painted brown, a man on horseback, as before.

Legend, "Sigillum Amunde fil. Herfrei."

Bull of Pope Adrian the Fourth confirming the Grant of Trulegh.

Adrianus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Leoni, Abbati S^{ti} Bertini, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ea quæ venerabilibus locis et viris, sub habitu religionis gratum Deo dependentibus famulatum a fidelibus Christianis rationabiliter tribuuntur, in suâ debent firmitate persistere, ac ne procella temporis quorumlibet presumptione turbentur, auctoritatis nostræ paginâ communiri. Inde est, dilecte in Domino fili, quod utilitati et quieti commissi tibi cenobii providere volentes, Ecclesias de Chilleam et de Trulleia cum appendiciis suis, quas venerabilis frater noster Theobaldus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, canonice tibi et cenobio tuo concessit, et scripti sui paginâ roboravit. Nos etiam auctoritate apostolicâ confirmamus, et perpetuis temporibus eidem Monasterio illibatas permanere sancimus. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra-ire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli, Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Data Beneventi 6 Kalendis Februarii.

Indorsed,

“Adriani PP. 4, de Trullegâ et Chilham.”

With the leaden Bull attached.

- X. *Survey of the Manor and Forest of Clarendon, Wiltshire, in 1272; Communicated by Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart. F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 2d February, 1832.

14, Stratford Place, 20 Dec. 1831.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you a Survey of the Royal Manor of Clarendon in Wiltshire, made in the first year of King Edward the First. When I resided at Salisbury in 1821, I obtained leave to dig on the site of Clarendon Palace in order to discover the plan of it. In the course of searching for the traces of the foundations, I found some painted glass, Norman tiles, and fragments of painted stucco; but I should doubt their being part of any thing described here, for it is most probable that the walls had been often fresh painted and the windows new glazed since the time of Henry the Third or Edward the First. The painted glass, however, was very thick, which is a mark I believe of great antiquity.

Among the late Lord Radnor's papers I found an anecdote stating that "Our Lady Marchioness" (of Northampton, married secondly to Sir Thomas Gorges), "speaking of her house to the Queen" (Elizabeth), "said she had built Longford Castle to be a more convenient lodge to her Majestie when she came to hunt at Clarendon Park, than Wilton, which was three miles further off."

From this, therefore, we may infer the Palace was then uninhabitable.

I hope the Communication will not prove altogether uninteresting; and I remain,

Very truly yours,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

Visus Manerii de Clarendon, A^o 1 E. I.

Visus de statu Manerii de Clarendon et Forestæ de Clarendone cum eor. ptin. fçus die S. Mich. anno regni E. fil. H. 1^{mo}. per Walterum de Stircheslegh, tunc Vice Comitem Wilts., et per Dominos Hugonem le Engleis, Joh de Grimstede, Joh de Monemue, et W'm de Derneforde, Milites, pceptum Dñi Regis, qui dicunt, per visum quem fecerunt, quòd

Aula Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ scindularum et emendacione trium boterarum extra murum ejusdem Aulæ in parte aquilonari.

Paneteria et Buteleria sunt in bono statu, hoc excepto quòd duæ fenestræ deficiunt in Buteleriâ.

In Lardario deficiunt tres fenestræ.

Coquina Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ.

Coquina familiæ est in bono statu.

Esquieleria indiget emendacione cujusdam guttiræ.

Clastrum inter aulam et coquinas predictas indiget cooperturâ et emendatione guttirarum.

Camera et Capella Dñi Regis sunt in bono statu. Aleia inter aulam et Cameram Domini Regis indiget cooperturâ. Et rota putei indiget reparacione.

Et gistæ interioris Camerae Dominæ Reginæ combustæ fuerunt quando Dominus Rex ultimo fuit apud Clarendon, et maximâ indigent reparacione et emendacione.

Gutiræ Capellæ Dominæ Reginæ cum celurâ et picturâ ejusdem indigent reparacione et emendacione.

Aleia inter Cameram Domini Regis et Cameram Dominæ Reginæ indiget cooperturâ et emendatione guttirarum.

Camera cum camino ultra maximum celarium ruinosâ est et dirè discoopertâ, unde maximâ indiget reparacione.

Et alia Camera ultra dictum celarium indiget cooperturâ.

Cumblum Camerae Neville putrefactum est ex una parte et alia pars indiget cooperturâ.

Gradus ad la Posterne fracti sunt, et indigent reparacione.

Aluræ ejusdem Posternæ sunt displumbatæ, sed nunquam antea fuerunt plumbatæ. Et gutiræ dictæ Posternæ indigent reparacione.

Camera Garderobæ Dominæ Reginae indiget cooperturâ et emendatione in gutiriis.

Item Salsaria, Chandelaria, et Garderoba Dñi Regis indigent cooperturâ. Garderoba Cameræ Mansell indiget cooperturâ.

Elemosinaria indiget cooperturâ et . . . arium ejusdem est ruinosum, et murus ejusdem Elemosinariæ in parte indiget reparacione.

Et Stabulum ejusdem Elemosinariæ indiget cooperturâ.

In [*two or three words illegible*] Camera forinseca deficit unum hostium, quinque fenestræ et planchiæ, unde magnâ indiget reparacione.

Duæ Cameræ ad Infantes Domini Regis indigent cooperturâ et deficiunt quinque fenestræ et unum hostium.

Camera Johis le Faukonir, et Domus Barbarii indigent cooperturâ et reparacione murorum.

Stabulum Domini Regis et Stabulum Ballivi indigent rastellis et manjuris et cooperturâ. Et oportet quod parva porta ibidem reficiatur de novo.

Et sic videtur quod Stephanus de Eddeworthe dimisit dictum Manerium in debili statu. Et Johannes Russell in eodem statu illud Manerium recepit.

Et dicunt de Forestâ quod multæ quercus prostratæ sunt ad terram apud Clarendon, et quamplures branchiæ ibidem abscisæ sunt tam de veteri quam de novo, set subboscus ibi bene custoditur.

Et de Venatione dicunt quod non sunt ibi multi veteres dami, set rationalitur (*sic*) bene repleta est de damis et juvenibus bestiis.

Et Parcus de Clarendon (*est*) male clausus.

Et dominicus boscus Domini Regis apud Milcet bene custoditur tam de viridi quam de venatione. Et boscus Domini Regis apud Gravelinges male custoditur de viridi. Et multi sunt ibi capreoli, sed paucae aliæ bestiae.

In cujus rei testimonium dicti Vicecomes et Milites huic scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt."

The King's Writ for the above Survey is "Data per manum W. de Merton Cancellarii nostri apud Sanctum Martinum Magnum, London, xxi die Augusti, anno regni nostri primo."

*Survey of Clarendon Palace in the County of Wilts, in the first year of
Edward the First, 1272.*

A Survey of the condition of the Manor of Clarendon and of the Forest of Clarendon by Walter de Stircheslegh, Sheriff of Wilts, and by Sir Hugh le Engleis, Sir John de Grimstede, Sir John de Monemuth, and Sir William de Derneford, Knights, who say in the survey they have made, that—

The Hall of our Lord the King requires to be covered with shingles,^a and to be repaired in the buttresses on the outside of the walls of the said Hall on the north side.

The Pantry and Buttery are in good condition, except that two windows are deficient in the Buttery.

In the Larder three windows are wanting.

The Kitchen of our Lord the King requires roofing. The Kitchen of the family is in good condition.

The Scullery requires mending in one of the gutters.

The Cloister between the Hall and the aforesaid Kitchens wants a roof, and the gutters to be mended.

The Chamber and Chapel of our Lord the King are in good condition.

The Passage between the Hall and Chamber of our Lord the King wants roofing, and the Well-wheel must be repaired.

And the *joists* (?) of the Inner Chamber of our Lady the Queen were burnt when our Lord the King was last at Clarendon, and require very great repairs and mending.

The Gutters of the Chapel of our Lady the Queen, together with the ceiling (?) and painting of the same Chapel want repair and mending.

The Alley (Passage) between the Chamber of our Lord the King and the Chamber of our Lady the Queen wants a covering and repair of the gutters.

The Chamber with the chimney beyond the great cellar is in a ruinous condition and terribly unroofed, and therefore requires the greatest repair; and another Chamber beyond the said cellar wants a roof.

The ridge of Neville's Chamber is rotten in one part, and in another wants covering.

^a Wooden tiles.

The steps to the Postern are broken, and must be mended.

The of the same Postern are not leaded, but they were never leaded before. And the gutters of the said Postern require repair.

The Chamber of the Wardrobe of our Lady the Queen wants roofing, and mending in the gutters.

Also the Salt-house, the Chandlery, and Wardrobe-room of our Lord the King want roofing.

The Wardrobe-room of Mansell's Chamber wants a roof.

The Almonry must be covered, and the of the same is ruinous, and the wall of the said Almonry partly wants repair; and the Stable of the said Almonry requires a roof.

In the *Strangers'* (?) Chamber wants one door, five windows, and floors, therefore it needs great repairs.

Two Chambers for the Children of our Lord the King require to be roofed, and want five windows and one door.

The Chamber of John the Falconer, and the House of the Barber, want roofing and repairs of the walls.

The Stable of our Lord the King and the Stable of the Bailiff want racks and mangers, and roofing; and it is necessary that the little door there should be newly made.

And thus it is seen that Stephen de Eddeworth left the said Manor in bad condition, and John Russell received it in that state.

And concerning the Forest they say that many oaks are lying on the ground at Clarendon, and that a great number of branches are cut off both *formerly* and *lately*,^b but the underwood there is well preserved.

And of the Venison they say that there are not many old bucks, but that it is tolerably well stocked with does and fawns.

And that the Park of Clarendon is badly inclosed.

And the demesne wood of our Lord the King at Milchet is well preserved both in vert and venison: and the wood of our Lord the King at Grave-linges (*now* Groveley) is not well preserved as to the vert, and there are many goats, but few other beasts.

In witness whereof, &c.

^b Or query, from old and young trees? "de veteri quam de novo."

REMARKS.

From this Survey of Clarendon Palace, in the year 1272, may be drawn some curious deductions relative to the structure of Royal Palaces, where they were merely country seats, some of which I will endeavour to point out.

One of the most obvious inferences to be drawn from it is, that all the rooms were on the ground floor, and that the whole Palace was only one story high. This appears to me to be proved by the fact, that nearly every room mentioned is said to want a covering, which I consider invariably to signify a roof. We know that Kitchens formerly extended to the roof, some of which kind exist at this day, as at Buckland, in Gloucestershire, &c. &c.

Another fact observable is, that the roofs were covered with shingles,^c (a corruption of the word shindles, I suspect,) which were thin tiles of wood, called in Latin *scindulae*, from *scindo*. This covering of shingles will account for the extremely defective state of the roofs; otherwise, had they been covered with tiles, we can scarcely conceive any probable cause why they should have become so decayed, unless we suppose that the Barons in their hostile attempts against Henry had attacked the Palace, and dismantled it. Thirdly, It appears there were two Kitchens, one for the King, the other for the family; the best illustration of which may, perhaps, be drawn from the still existing custom of Colleges at the Universities, where the Master or President has his separate kitchen, but all the other members have only one in common.

The *Buttresses* serve to point out the position of the Hall, for the Palace stood upon the brow of a declivity, facing the north, if I remember correctly, and consequently there the buttresses would be required. On referring to the plan, it will be seen that the largest room (which we may reasonably conclude to have been the Hall) is on the north, and looks over a small valley below it.

The *Well Wheel* marks the simplicity of those times, when the King him-

^c I have been informed that there is an ancient house in Wales (at Penrhos in Montgomeryshire) which has continued the use of shingles instead of tiles, to this present time.

self possessed no method of raising water more conveniently, than the poorest cottager of the present day.

Gistæ, I conceive to be those which are now called "joists" in architecture, either for the floor or the roof, although the proper name for those of the roof is now "rafters."

It appears that the King and Queen had separate Chapels, and probably this may be illustrated by the ancient custom which is still retained in some village churches where the men sit on one side the church and the women on the other.

The *Painting* of the chapel probably alludes to the story of some Saint depicted on the walls, which was a common custom until Queen Elizabeth gave orders to have them all destroyed or covered with white-wash.

It is perhaps worth noticing, that the King and Queen had separate Chambers, with a private passage leading from one to the other, and that no rooms were above them or the passage, for it is said both require roofing and repair of the gutters. It is probable that these rooms were bed chambers.

The next Chamber is noticed by the Surveyors as possessing a Chimney (at least such I understand by the word "*Camino*"). It is remarkable if this should have been the only chimney in the Palace, but probably this alone is mentioned, because it was ruinous. I have endeavoured to preserve in my translation the colloquial phraseology used in the present day, and therefore I have translated *dirè*, as is often said in common conversation, "terribly," or "dreadfully" dilapidated. *Cumblum* is translated "ridge," because I suspect it to be merely Latinized (if I may coin a word) from the French or Norman *combe*, the top or highest point of any thing; and, as the ridge is the highest part of the roof, that word may perhaps be considered the right translation.

The name of Neville's Chamber is curious, as shewing the appropriation of rooms in the Palace to some particular persons or families. I do not remember that the Nevilles had any office in the King's household, which would entitle them to a chamber in the Palace. It might have been the abode of Jollan de Neville, the Justice Itinerant, when he compiled (as I conjecture) the Testa de Neville for the neighbouring counties.

The other Chamber, called Mansell's, is not improbably so named from John Mansell, the celebrated Provost of Beverley, who was a great favourite with the King; but, as this is conjecture, the real origin of the appellation must be left to the deeper research of better antiquaries.^d

Salsaria I consider to have been the Salting-houses, where they salted their venison and other meat, which was formerly much used by the gentry when they travelled.

I believe the Almonry was an appendage to all royal, baronial, and abbatial mansions, where the poor of the surrounding neighbourhood might come for their daily alms, and the passing stranger might put up his horse, and take his meal at the expence of the lord.

The Chandlery was an office in the Royal Household until a late period. It managed other provisions beyond the Candles; as did the other offices control other things besides those from which they received their name. The tapers used for the service of the Chapel formed an important article in this office.

That the King sometimes brought his family to this Palace, we may infer from the two rooms appointed for the young Princes.

It seems also, that the Royal Falconer and the King's Barber were necessary appendages to the King's household establishment; but no mention is made of the Venator or Royal Huntsman; by which we may conjecture that he formed no part of the household, but probably had his constant residence in the lodges of the Forest.

^d Matthew Paris, however (I have since found) says, that this John Mansell was the King's Secretary and Privy Counsellor, "*Domini Regis Clericus, et Conciliarius Specialis.*" It would therefore be essential that a separate chamber should be appropriated to him.

XI. *Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France; addressed to JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S., Director, by THOMAS RICKMAN, Esq.*

Read 15th, 22nd, and 29th November, 1832; and 24th January, 1833.

LETTER I.

Birmingham, 10 mo. 12, 1832.

HAVING, in company with my friend the Reverend William Whewell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, spent a few weeks in examining the ecclesiastical Edifices in Picardy and Normandy, and having conferred with Messrs. Le Prevost of Rouen, De Caumont of Caen, and Lambert of Bayeux, all active and zealous Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, I am desirous of laying before the Society some account of the results of this examination, if the Society think it worthy of their notice.

I propose dividing the subjects into a series of short Papers, each of which may, in some degree, be considered complete in itself; and be of such a length only as may excite, but not fatigue, the attention.

In the present Communication I intend to state the extent of country visited, the number and character of the Buildings examined, and a few general remarks on the more striking differences which at once attract attention in passing through Picardy and Normandy.

In the first edition of my Essay on English Architecture, published in 1817, I remarked, that "in every instance which had come under my notice of buildings on the continent, a mixture, more or less exact or remote, according to circumstances, of Italian composition, in some part or other is present; and that I had little doubt that a *very attentive* examination of the continental buildings called *Gothic*, would enable an architect

to lay down the regulations of the French, Flemish, Spanish, German, and Italian Styles which were in use when the English flourished in England ;" and it is with great pleasure I find myself enabled, by this journey, to go some way towards this conclusion with respect to that part of France, at least, which was included in this tour.

The line of country visited may be thus briefly intimated :

From Dover to Calais, Boulogne, Abbeville, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, Jumieges, Evreux, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux, St. Lo, Coutances, Carentan, Isigny, Honfleur, Pont Audemer, Caudebec, Lillebonne, Harfleur, Havre de Grace, and thence to Southampton.

In the course of the journey, Notes were taken of

- 4 Edifices of Roman work, or of dates before anno 1000 ;
- 14 Cathedrals, or Collegiate Churches ;
- 43 Larger Churches in Towns ;
- 50 Smaller Churches in Towns and Villages ;
- 14 Domestic Edifices and Civil Edifices ;
- 6 Smaller Edifices, Shrines, and Details.

In this number of above one hundred churches, only nine ancient Fonts were discovered, all the rest which were seen being modern, and mostly of one species of marble called, in Normandy, Flemish marble, but we had no clear account whence it came.

With respect to the general features of difference striking an English eye on visiting the Ecclesiastical buildings in Picardy and Normandy, the most prominent are,

1st. The want of clearness of outline ; occasioned by the great breadth of the large Churches, from their mostly having two aisles on each side the nave, and the great magnitude and grouping of the flying buttresses. Of this want of outline, perhaps the Cathedral of Beauvais (though it has very fine portions) is the most conspicuous example ; for having no nave, only choir and transepts, it looks at a distance a heavy lump ; and it is only when near enough to distinguish some of its admirable details that it can be properly appreciated.

2nd. The great interior height of the nave, and often of the aisles, in proportion to their breadth ; this feature, though not constant, is very

general, and is often from one and a half to nearly double the usual English proportions of height, as compared to breadth.

3rd. The very general termination of the east end of large churches (and also very many small ones) in a circular or polygonal apsis; this, with the chapels and aile surrounding these apses, tends very much (aided by the lofty and extensive flying buttresses) to give that lumpishness mentioned above.

4th. Another, though not perhaps so prominent a feature, is the greater height of the windows from the floor. In only one or two at most of the whole number of churches inspected, could the windows be looked into by a person outside.

All these differences from English appearances are very prominent, and strike the eye at once of the most rapid and inexperienced traveller; but the others, which we have yet to enumerate, are equally noticeable to the eye accustomed to the examination and comparison of details.

Of these minor differences may be stated,

1st. The unfinished or irregular terminations of towers; sometimes two nearly alike, but with different tops; sometimes one tower despoiled of its ancient cornice, parapet, and pinnacles, and a very ugly modern slate roof put on it. I am not sure that we saw more than one or two towers in the whole line which were perfect in these respects, and many were terminated in a way which, though not unknown in England, is very uncommon, viz. the tower on two sides has high gables, and is roofed from these with a common house ridge roof. This sort of roof is called a pack-saddle roof. This unsightly mode seems to be often original, but perhaps as often a mutilation. The stone spires, which are numerous, are more fortunate and in general tolerably preserved.

2nd. The total absence, in all our route, of a cut battlement, either real, when used as a parapet, or apparent, when used ornamentally.

One small piece, apparently very recent, on a wall in the court of the Bishop's palace at Evreux, was the only portion we saw. Plain parapets are common, and perhaps pierced parapets in good churches still more so; but there are still very many village churches with dripping eaves.

3rd. The very great predominance of wheel windows, most of them large and of elaborate tracery.

4th. The smallness of the exterior bases and their very trifling projection is remarkable, as is also the great boldness and projection of the few which form exceptions to this rule.

All the above are differences constantly occurring and very apparent ; but there are many more to be stated, when we come to compare edifices of similar dates and characters, as worked at the same time in each country.

It may be proper in these preliminary remarks to state, that in order to prevent confusion I call the entrance end of a church the west, and the altar end the east : but that, in very many instances, churches in our route were found built so much across the compass, that it is sometimes difficult to make out which is east, as the number of central towers in small churches not cruciform, is considerable. In the city of Caen this deviation is so great that some of the churches are in this respect directly opposed to others.

As the nature of the stone used in the districts which we have examined, seems to have had considerable influence on the design of many churches, and particularly on the ornamental parts, it will be right to notice that from Abbeville to Evreux, and perhaps even further, the larger churches are composed of a white stone, which may be scratched by the nail, and works very easily, yet seems of great durability ; as works of great delicacy, executed four and five hundred years ago, and even more, are now quite fresh and perfect.

This stone seems a sort of indurated chalk, and is of different hardness in different places ; it is mixed in buildings with some of the oolites from Caen and other places, and is singularly adapted for the rich and elaborate tracery, niche-work, foliage, and other embellishments of the later French styles.

About Caen and Bayeux that beautiful stone called Caen stone, of which so much was once brought to England, is generally used ; and of it or similar stone is much of the early Norman work constructed, some of which is as perfect as when first cut.

In the village churches we find stone of various descriptions ; sandstone,

limestone, and other stones of the locality, used mixed with the Caen and other stones of that description, which are used for the mouldings and more delicate portions of the building.

At Amiens and some other places, a very hard dark stone has been used for plinths and bases. From Bayeux to Coutances, a hard stone of very slaty texture is used in small pieces, little larger than the pieces of ragstone used in Northamptonshire, at Brixworth, and other places.

In several village churches and the smaller churches in towns, this slaty stone and other materials are laid in the way called herring-bone masonry; but this construction does not seem always to be very ancient.

Having thus described the route taken, and noticed such matters as apply pretty much to all the buildings visited, I intend in future papers to enter into particular descriptions and comparisons.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

LETTER II.

I now resume the account of the Buildings, &c. in Normandy and Picardy, and have taken the Fonts I have found, for the subject of the present communication.

In the whole number of churches visited (upwards of one hundred) only nine ancient Fonts were seen so as to be drawn; there might be a few more in churches we could not get into, but judging from what we did find, I apprehend not many.

A large number of the Fonts, whether ancient or modern, have covers; most of which are poor and plain, and in general, carefully locked. As before noticed, nearly all the modern Fonts are of marble; mostly of one description, called Flemish marble; they are very commonly oval, and some are divided into two basins by a division of marble.

Of the nine Fonts, I now exhibit sketches (see Plate X.): they are not, perhaps, quite exact representations, but are, I trust, near enough to be understood. Taking them, as near as may be, in their apparent order of dates, they are:

1st. *Breteuil*, between Amiens and Beauvais. This Font is of a shape not uncommon in England; it has a large central bowl, with twelve small shafts and capitals with plain leaves, and the base so common in Early English work. This Font is in very good preservation, and the tool marks visible, but it is painted.

2nd. *Subles*, between Bayeux and St. Lo. The character and shape of this Font are not uncommon in England; its form is graceful and simple, and its mouldings, and the arrangements at the corners of the foot, give its date.

3rd. *Vaucelles*, near Bayeux, and not far from Subles. This Font very much resembles the last, but from its mouldings seems a little later.

4th. *St. George de Bocherville*, near Rouen. This is a large and very fine Norman church, with much of later work in various parts, with which this Font harmonizes: here, as in the two last noticed fonts, there is a plain bowl on an upright foot; but diversified here by having some of the parts octagonal, instead of being all circular, as in the two last.

5th. *Jumieges*, the parish church near the Abbey, not far from Rouen. This Font is a curious one, being very different in shape from any of the former examples, and harmonizing with various fonts of the same shape in Lincolnshire and some other counties. It is also cut in the same way with flat fillets and shallow pannels, with plain slopes for mouldings, and the panneling varied in the different sides. The font at Haydor, in Lincolnshire, is much like this. I consider this font clearly of Decorated character.

6th. *Duclair*, on the Seine near Rouen. This church is a curious one of various dates, so that it is not very easy to make out the date of the Font by analogy. The hour-glass shape of this font has few, if any, resemblances in England; its mouldings are not very decisive, but I think it as late, if not later than the last example. It may even be later still; but I have no reason to think it modern.

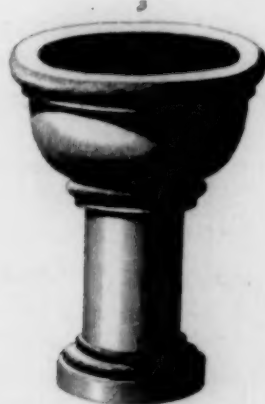
7th. *Carentan*, between Coutances and Cherbourg. I measured this Font



Bretail.



Subles.



Fauselles de Bayeux.



S^t George de Bocherelle.



Jumièges.



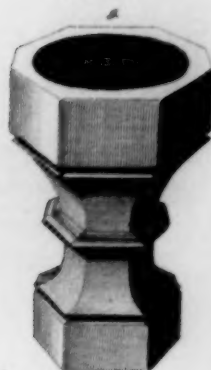
Duclair.



Carentan.



Bs.



Haute Allemagne.

Fonts in Churches of France.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, on 4 April 1855.

carefully, and have drawn it geometrically to a scale of one inch to a foot. It is composed of several pieces, and may *possibly* be composed of several fragments; it is circular, and looks very much as if the font had been reversed, and the bowl added at a later date. Anomalies not uncommon in England, of which a church in York has a font which is a curious instance.

8th. *Ifs*, near Caen. The shape of this Font is not very uncommon in England, and it also by its form assimilates with the hour-glass shape at Duclair, but here the mouldings are clear and have an appearance of rather late Decorated character.

9th. *Haute Allemagne*, the next parish to *Ifs*, and near Caen. The form of this Font is still more common in England than the last; and, but that the neck moulding has a Decorated character, it might pass for an English Perpendicular font. I think it may be a little before, or perhaps a little after, A. D. 1400.

I fear this account of French Fonts will appear a very meagre one; but comprising, as it does, all the ancient ones I found, I shall feel very much obliged if any Members of the Society, who possess the means of enlarging the list, will favour me with a sight of their sketches, to enable me to add to the number, and thus aid me in making what I wish to do, a more minute and extensive comparison than has yet been made of English and French Architecture.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

At Pont Audemer are two churches, St. Germain and St. Catherine. In the former is a large Font, which might be, and I am inclined to think was, ancient, but it was covered with a cloth. At St. Catherine's, the greatest part of which is of very late date and very elaborate workmanship, the font is shut in a chapel, and I could only see a small part of it below a cloth, and it appeared to be of the date and character of the church, but I could not see enough of it to draw it.

LETTER III.

As the next subject in my comparison of the Architecture of England and part of France, I intend, in the present Paper, to submit to the Society a rapid view of my ideas on the progress of Architecture in England, from the occupation of the Romans to the period when the Italian style, again imported from Italy, drove out the execution, and for a time almost the study of the intermediate styles, of which so many excellent monuments are remaining.

I feel it necessary here to state, that for the sake of clearness, I must assume some dates of buildings, which I am aware I cannot prove by documentary evidence, however well I may be convinced by analogy and a careful examination, that the dates are true. But on the subject of documentary evidence, though I have the highest respect for it, yet it very often happens that the most important point, viz. whether the building now existing is the one really referred to in the document, must, after all, rather be collected from inference or analogy, than be considered directly proved.

On that part of our architectural history which follows the departure of the Romans from Britain, and which precedes the Norman Conquest, there is of course great obscurity; but, while in the days of Dr. Stukeley, Horace Walpole, &c. there appears to have been much too easy an admission of Saxon dates on the mere appearance of the semicircular arch, I think there has been of late perhaps too great a leaning the other way; and because we cannot directly *prove* that certain edifices are Saxon by documentary evidence, we have been induced too easily perhaps to consider that no Saxon buildings did exist, and have not given ourselves the trouble sufficiently to examine our earlier Norman works to see if they were not some of them entitled to be considered as erected before the Conquest.

I confess I have myself been heretofore of this class of doubters as to Saxon dates; but having in various parts found buildings which are not Norman, and which, from their peculiar construction, cannot well be considered either as modern, or as of any intermediate style, I think they must be anterior, and therefore entitled to be called Saxon.

I was much impressed by a conversation I had before my visit to France with an aged and worthy Dean, who was speaking on the subject of Saxon edifices, with a full belief that they were numerous. He asked me if I had investigated those churches which existed in places where Domesday Book states that a church existed in King Edward's days, and I was obliged to confess I had not paid the systematic attention I ought to have done to this point; and I now wish to call the attention of the Society to the propriety of having a list made of such edifices, that they may be carefully examined.

Having premised thus much, I proceed to state what appears to me to have been the practical progress of Architecture in England.

I think it is clear that nothing *very good* of Roman work ever existed in Britain; all the fragments of architecture which have been discovered, whether large or small, whether the tympanum of a temple, as found at Bath, or small altars, as found in many places, I believe they were all deficient either in composition or execution, or in both; and none that I know of have been better, if so good, as the debased work of the Emperor Dioclesian in his palace at Spalatro. With these debased examples, we cannot expect that the inhabitants of Britain would (while harassed with continual intestine warfare) improve on the models left by the Romans.

It is not now to be ascertained whether any examples of the actual use of columns with an architrave incumbent, were left by the Romans, but we have various examples of the plain arch with a pier; as a specimen, the north gate of Lincoln, now used as it was many centuries ago for a gate, is perhaps the most perfect. This plain square pier and a semicircular arch, I believe to have been imitated in the Saxon buildings, and this I find actually now a part of Brixworth church, with a bond tier of what we call Roman bricks (i. e. flat tiles) carried through the work. This church has a curious window, in which is used a sort of pier or division, which is very rude, but has a resemblance to a Roman balustre. This balustre leads to one or two other churches, particularly the tower of Barton on the Humber (old church) in Lincolnshire, and Earls Barton in Northamptonshire; these lead by other features to Barnack, St. Benet at Cambridge, a church in Oxford, Kirkdale, Laughton en le Morthen in Yorkshire, and Repton in Derbyshire, with a few other churches not yet sufficiently investigated,

but altogether affording a series of work evidently not Norman, and in many cases having Norman work in such positions as to show that they must be more ancient than Norman.

I have heretofore met with many plain Norman shaped arches between the nave and chancel of small churches, which appeared from the mode of construction to be relics of a more ancient edifice, and I am sorry to say that many of these, from the impression of their being only rude specimens of Norman, I have neglected properly to note, or to examine whether they might not be Saxon. It is true that these sort of arches require careful investigation, for a plain arch on a plain pier continues all through the Norman style, and with a pointed arch in the next style.

From this plain pier and arch, the gradation is practically easy to the Norman style; the round arch remains, the impost remains, and a very little alteration improves the rude shaft of the little chapel at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, into the ordinary Norman capital, and I suspect that this change was clearly developed about the year 1000; but this is one of the dates I cannot prove at present by documentary evidence.

The style which we designate as Norman is too well known to require much description. Evidently rude at first, it gradually softened its forms, multiplied its mouldings, and ultimately became in some examples almost *gorgeous*. The west front of Lincoln Cathedral is a fine example of the early and late Norman contrasted; the two side arches of the ancient front being evidently very early, and the great west door very late.

Considering the Norman style as established, it is proper to notice how the plain square pier was altered:

1st. It was made round with an enriched capital, sometimes of small projection, and a round abacus or cap moulding; and sometimes with considerable projection, and a square abacus. This pier we have in England of various heights; at Norwich very short, at Gloucester and Tewksbury very long; it is also worked with plain as well as enriched capitals.

2nd. The square pier was reduced in size, but added to on the sides or the back and front, sometimes on all of them, by square sinks with shafts of various dimensions; and in a few instances with the sinks only without shafts.

3rd. In a very few instances, I believe octagon piers will be found of Norman character.

The Norman enrichments of the capitals, mouldings, and other parts are too well known to need description ; but one Norman enrichment must be noticed, as it leads to a question upon which much has been written and little concluded. This enrichment is the series of panneling upon small piers, commonly called the intersecting arch. When once this ornament was used, the pointed arch was formed. Whoever also looks at a Norman groin, whether with or without ribs, must see an appearance of a pointed arch, and therefore I do not think it necessary to discuss the question of the introduction of the pointed arch here, as I know not that it can lead to any practical benefit.

At whatever time this form was introduced, we find it curiously alternating with the semicircular one ; they are often used together ; and towards the end of the style and the beginning of the next, we have Norman forms with Early English details, and Early English forms with Norman details frequently occurring ; and sometimes the forms and details are so mixed and jumbled as to make it very difficult to say to which style it belongs. But this is the great secret of the advance of architecture in England. It is so imperceptible in its progress that a series of examples of parts and ornaments and mouldings might be made out, each of them hardly differing from its predecessor, yet at every ten or twelve steps showing a decided alteration. It was by this gradual alteration that I conceive our beautiful Early English style was formed ; this style, after struggling hard in the circular vestibule of the Temple church, became in the eastern part a model of simplicity and beauty.

Then also appeared Bishop Poore's admirable edifice, Salisbury Cathedral, and that most valuable and numerous series of small churches which adorn almost every County in England.

It is well to notice that the churches of this date, viz. from about 1220 to 1300, or a little later, are remarkable not only for beauty and simplicity of design, but also for excellence of execution ; seldom indeed is an Early English building seen without the best execution the material used is capable of.

How had this style been formed from the Norman?

1st. The small window of the Norman style enlarged and with a pointed head, became the simple but beautiful lancet window. The Norman double window with a shaft between, became imitated in the double lancet, and afterwards in the double window with piercing between. As the Norman style had its more numerous assemblage of windows, so had the early English. Each style its wheels;—those of the former were small,—those of the latter, much enlarged, became the magnificent transept windows of York and Lincoln.

2nd. The piers were altered principally by an alteration of their mouldings, but partly by a new and more elegant form. The round pier continued, the octagon pier also continued and increased in frequency in small buildings; but in larger ones, the Norman square pier with shafts was changed into a bundle of shafts; four, eight, or sometimes more were used, and often a circular centre with four or more detached shafts set round it. These clusters of shafts were mostly united by the mouldings of the capitals, and part or the whole of the base mouldings, and sometimes by intermediate bands.

The deeply recessed arches of doors, &c. with shafts on the side, continued, but the shafts became of more importance, having sometimes, in large doors, a double tier of free shafts, one tier behind the other.

During this progress the mouldings were continually lightening and becoming more delicate, with intricate small hollows, and small often repeated rounds, some plain and some filleted.

The rude and stiff Norman foliage and ornaments became more delicate and natural, and near the end of the style the sculpture of every kind was most exquisite. I need only instance the effigy of King John, and those of some Bishops in Worcester Cathedral, and that singularly elegant band of foliage in the side doorways of the choir screen of Lincoln. Amongst these enrichments we must not forget that simple ornament so profusely scattered in some of the best buildings of this style in England—the *toothed ornament*; all through the country is this enrichment seen, and it seems the regular gradation from the nail-head of the later Norman work, to the square flower of the next style.

It is curious to remark that another peculiar characteristic of this style, is a series of moulding for the bases of shafts, piers, &c. which is an imitation of the regular attic base of the Italians, consisting like that of two rounds and a hollow, with interposed fillets; but with this difference, that the Italian base is very rarely, if ever, worked so that it will hold water in the hollow, while the Early English base is almost always worked so that it will hold water, whether used within the building, or in the open air; and its use is so general, that wherever it and the toothed ornament are used together the style is most clearly made out.

About, or in some places perhaps before, the year 1300, another gradual change in the windows had taken place: instead of two or three lancets divided by a portion of stone-work the thickness of the wall, and therefore keeping these lancets and any piercings between their heads distinct windows, there now appeared windows divided by real mullions, and the whole window surrounded by another general moulding of the nature of an architrave. The heads of these windows were filled with geometrical figures, mostly circles, and a new species of ornament began to be used; at first sparingly, but afterwards generally, not only in windows but in panneling: this was the insertion of a number of smaller arches with points, producing cuspidation or feathering, and thus introducing a new and elegant ornament into every portion of architectural composition; and its gradual progress from the first sort of trefoil heads, where all the mouldings assume the shape, to its later character of a mere enrichment on one only of a series of mouldings, is very curious.

Thus gradual had been the preparation of that beautiful style, which a few years after 1300, appeared pretty much confirmed in England, the *Decorated English* style. As transitions from the last style to this, two buildings are so pre-eminent as to require notice: one, the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, York, is well known; but the other, the remains of the church at Newstead Abbey, has been comparatively little noticed for its architectural character: they are both so elegant as to deserve the closest examination and study, that their character may be properly known and appreciated. Beautiful as these edifices are, there seemed yet a graceful point wanting: these transition windows, and many of the early Decorated

works, have tracery which is mostly circles, trefoils, and other geometrical figures, giving a certain appearance of stiffness to the lines of otherwise very fine windows; this geometrical tracery, though perhaps never entirely given up, was soon followed by tracery in which the lines are beautifully flowing, and window tracery seemed to have received its final polish; and of course with window tracery, was included all heads of panneling, heads of buttresses, and other analogous enrichment.

The windows in this style continued to be enlarged till at length five, six, seven, and eight lights were not uncommon; and in one instance (the east window of the Cathedral at Carlisle) nine lights were employed. This last window is not only remarkable for its breadth and large size, but its composition is quite equal, if not superior, to any window of the style. We have very few wheel windows of this style.

A further alteration of piers took place in this style: the octagon pier still continued to appear in small churches, and in a very few places a round pier may be met with: but the capitals and bases shew the alteration in the date, and another alteration took place in larger churches. In the Norman square pier with shafts, the square faces were to the nave, the ailes, and to the arches; in the Early English style, the shafts were set in a circular direction in large clustered piers, and now in the Decorated style the pier again became angular; but the angles of the square were set where the Norman faces were, and thus the pier becomes of a lozenge shape and of these piers the front angle shaft to the nave, sometimes runs up and becomes a groining shaft in the roof. In the Early English style, the shafts, whether of piers, doors, or niches, were mostly detached. Stability being required as well as lightness, these shafts were worked in the Decorated style, as parts of the series of mouldings, and not detached, thus adding much to the strength of the building; and this was the case not only with piers, but in the mouldings of doors, niches, and other analogous situations. The foliated capitals and other enrichments, became very elaborate but with increasing boldness, and while they will bear close examination they have their full effect at a distance. The toothed ornament disappears with the Early English style; but in the latter part of that style, and the earlier part of the Decorated, a round flower with three or four leaves closed on a ball, and

well known by the name of the ball flower, became common, and was used in great profusion in some places. At Warmington, Northamptonshire, it is used in Early English work with the toothed ornament, and at Ledbury, in good Decorated work, by itself in great profusion.

The toothed ornament was succeeded by the square flower we have mentioned before, which is used of various sizes in various situations, with great effect.

The Decorated style had the shortest reign, and its good examples are not so numerous, perhaps, as either of the other styles; but there still remains enough to form a very efficient study of this most valuable style; the most difficult truly to imitate, and equally difficult to describe in words. Although allowing of the introduction of profuse enrichment, it is not dependent thereon for its beauty; for the harmony of its proportions is such, that some of the plainest specimens are as satisfactory as the most enriched.

Of this style the naves of York and Exeter Cathedrals are fine examples; but there is one unimixed and very little mutilated example, which deserves to be better known than it is; this is the church of Heckington in Lincolnshire, on the road from Sleaford to Boston; and in its vicinity are several other fine examples of the style, varying in date and character, but mixed in some instances with the earlier and later styles.

I consider Gothic architecture in England at this time, about the end of Edward the Third's reign, to have reached its best point. But there came another alteration, and this I conceive had its origin in practical arrangements, dependent on what seemed an increasing desire to have very large and lofty windows and openings.

In many places the obtaining stone proper for the heads and mullions of very large windows, was, no doubt, in the then state of roads and other communications, a matter of some difficulty; and towards the end of the reign of Edward the Third the new style began, and decidedly by the year 1400 it was established. The great distinction of this style from the last is the *perpendicular* lines of the windows and panelling, and the introduction of one or more transoms, with trefoiled or cinquefoiled heads to the lights at the transom. It is true that many domestic and castellated windows had before been worked with a transom, more often plain, but in a very few in-

stances (of which the very long two light windows of the Hall of the palace at Wells may be mentioned) with arches and featherings; but these transoms now became general, and also a system of reducing the heads of windows and other places requiring tracery into small pannels, and producing ornament by a repetition of similar small pannels over all parts of the enriched surface.

A much more general use of perpendicular and horizontal lines, either crossing each other, or stopt by each other, as each in turn became principal, was adopted; and in many rich buildings the pannels often became niches with ornamented canopies, sometimes pointed, sometimes square.

One of the earliest and best specimens of this style is the north window, door, and niches of Westminster Hall; the peculiarities of the style, its multiplied small buttresses to the niches, its shafts with capitals and bases partly round and partly octagon, its light pierced projecting canopies to the niches, its style of foliage, and in short, every distinctive feature, is fully brought forward in this early example, and it may be examined by, and compared with a very late example—Henry the Seventh's Chapel, which is its near neighbour. It is true both these examples have had parts restored, but I believe both so restored that they may be compared with propriety; and their dates being clearly known, one in Richard the Second's reign, the other in that of Henry the Eighth, the completeness of the style at first will, I think, be fully proved.

Again we find an alteration in piers and arch mouldings, and indeed in the mouldings of the style generally, by the introduction of large hollows into the suites of mouldings. The round pier is very seldom, if ever, used; but the octagon pier is as frequent as heretofore, its base and capital being altered. The large pier is still lozenge form, and much resembles the pier of the last style, but in many instances is not a square lozenge, but flattened between the arches, becoming of greater dimensions north and south than east and west; and in many instances there are no capitals, but the mouldings run round the arch and are stopped by some of the base lines of the pier, and frequently having bases to the rounds, though they have no capitals.

Another feature of this style is the introduction of the four-centered or Tudor arch: this appears to me to be the result of the practical effort to

give as much apparent height as possible, and also of the wish to groin parts of buildings much flatter than could be done with the ordinary arch of two centers.

Although after the year 1500 a degree of debasement and want of proportion every now and then is evinced, yet the style could not be said properly to be debased till the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. But early in the reign of Elizabeth, true Gothic was mostly gone; Italian mouldings and the Italian orders began to be first mixed and then predominant; all the ornaments of the windows were gone, and the large square plain transomed window, sometimes flat and sometimes projecting as an oriel, became nearly universal. In the reign of James the First, the Italian orders were considerably used; but of what sort they were, the tower of the Schools at Oxford sufficiently may shew. I have met with one porch of a church dated 1636, and a portion of wood screen work, dated 1660, both of which are fairly designed and executed in the Gothic style; but they are solitary instances, and on the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, Gothic architecture seems almost to have been forgotten; for till within a few years, with very little exception, the attempts at restoration have been very barbarous.

Having thus very slightly sketched my ideas of the very gradual practical progress of Architecture in England, I propose in my next Paper to take the same rapid view of the Architecture of that part of France which has been before me in my late Tour, in order to enable me afterwards more minutely to compare and contrast the several styles, as they appear to have been worked at the same periods, in England and in France.

I am aware that in this Paper I have left out many peculiarities and distinguishing features of the different styles; but I trust I have said enough distinctly to mark the styles when in their purity, and also their singularly gradual progress through both the advance and decline of Gothic Architecture, though it must be acknowledged that the decline was much more rapid than the advance.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

LETTER IV.

HAVING in my last Paper endeavoured to trace the succession of changes which took place in English Architecture from the time of the Romans till a period in which Italian Architecture became common, I propose in my present communication to treat of the Architecture of a part of France in the same way. It seems likely that the Romans left some better works in France than in England, for there is still remaining that beautiful specimen of Corinthian called the *Maison carré* at Nismes.

At Lillebonne, a Roman theatre has been within a few years discovered and laid open.

At Bayeux, the pulling down some old houses has laid open for a short time (for other houses are building) a portion of the Roman wall of the city, within a few feet of which a fine gold medal of Valentinian was found.

At Rouen is the church of St. Gervais, which is clearly made out by the French antiquaries to be about, if not before A. D. 350 for the crypt, and the upper part of the east end to be before A. D. 1000.

At Beauvais is the remain called the *Basse Œuvre*, or Low Work, as compared with the very lofty work of the new choir. This is considered the remains of the ancient cathedral, and it stands where the nave of the present cathedral should stand. This building also the French antiquaries consider of a date before A. D. 1000.

All this succession of building is of the same character ; all have tiers of Roman bricks, or tiles, running as bonds horizontally and round the arches in nearly all the examples. All have their arches plain semicircles, and all are built with small stones and very large joints. At the *Basse Œuvre* at Beauvais, the lower arches remain ; they are perfectly plain and have plain square piers. At St. Gervais, Rouen, the crypt has a plain impost at the spring of the arch, much like that which continues with a plain arch almost as long as the semicircular arch itself remained. The upper part of the east end of this church, over the crypt, has regular columns just engaged, perhaps three inches in a diameter of near two feet ; they are about ten diameters high, have regular bases and capitals alternating Corinthian and Ionic ;

both capitals and bases are much mutilated, but can be made out ; there is now no entablature.

About the year 1000 there appears to have begun that style which may, I think, justly be called Norman ; for under William the Conqueror and William Rufus, we have both in France and England a series of magnificent works in a style so much the same, that to an ordinary observer they would appear identical.

The two buildings which have much engaged the attention of the French antiquaries from their different character,—the Abbeys of Jumieges and St. George de Bocherville,—appear to have been finished about, or soon after, 1050. They are clearly fully-formed Norman ; but one of them, Jumieges, is remarkably plain, and the other much ornamented.

On an attentive and careful examination of these edifices, I do not think there is any difficulty in considering them of the same date ; some of their mouldings are nearly, if not quite, the same ; and the composition in both bold and simple.

Shortly after these we have the magnificent churches at Caen : St. Nicholas, now cavalry stables ; Trinity Church, or the Abbaye aux Dames, now the chapel of the hospital ; and St. Stephen's Church, or the Abbaye aux Hommes.

There are also many small churches in which Norman portions remain.

It should be remembered that in speaking of these buildings it is only the Norman part which is spoken of, for almost all these churches have only a part Norman. At St. George de Bocherville, nearly the whole of the church is Norman, but the Chapter-house and other adjuncts are much later. At Jumieges only the nave and a few other small parts are Norman ; the choir of the Abbaye aux Hommes is much later.

The character of the capitals is very various in these edifices, but hardly any of them are very materially different from those in England, except that a greater resemblance to regular Corinthian capitals is found ; and at times an approach to Ionic. Very large and deep doors are not very common, but at St. George de Bocherville is a fine one.

Straight-headed apertures under semicircular arches, are about as common as in England ; and the zigzag, billet, fret, and other enrichments, are

much the same. Windows are some plain, some ornamented; many one lights, but some two lights, with the usual pillar centre, and the two round heads under one semicircular arch.

It is just as difficult to ascertain the exact date of the introduction of the pointed arch in France as in England; but when once it was introduced it was mixed with the semicircular one in a more capricious way than in England; for here there is a little consistency in its use when mixed with other shapes; but in France its use seems to have been governed by no assignable rule, and frequently a pointed arch occurs at the very bottom of a building, and every thing above is Norman. From these circumstances I cannot but think that the use of the round arch, with Norman details, was continued there quite as late, if not later than in England.

A claim has been set up by Monsieur de Gerville for a very early date for the Cathedral of Coutances; but, having visited and carefully examined this cathedral, I cannot consider it entitled to an earlier date than about 1220 or 1230; and I think that any one acquainted with the architecture of England and France will consider it useless for Monsieur de Gerville to continue a claim which would, if proved, throw all our reasoning from the character of buildings into inextricable confusion.

The French antiquaries, and principally Mons. de Caumont, in his Essay in the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Normandy, have divided their styles in a way different from my own division; but, as a very careful examination of the French monuments does not bear out that clear distinction of the different dates which would be required for the adoption *in England* of all his divisions and their names, and as the principal points are coincident in both countries (with the general correction I shall shortly state), I think it best to retain, as in England, the word *Early*, calling that style which began about 1200, and lasted till about 1300, *Early French*, to which those who wish to add Gothic, may add the term if it is any benefit.

The next period, from 1300 to 1400, I call *Decorated*, as in England; but the last period, after 1400, being in its arrangements so peculiar and so different from our perpendicular style as to require a different and particular appellation, I take the name given it by Monsieur de Caumont, which is peculiarly applicable, and very easily understood by any one who will spend

a short time at Rouen only in examining the buildings of this style. Mons. de Caumont's name is *Flamboyant*, alluding to the waving of a flame; and the tracery of the windows of this style (which are the great, but not the only distinguishing feature) gives very forcibly the idea of this waving in its dividing lines.

I have been compelled in some degree to anticipate in the foregoing paragraph, in order to give at once the names I propose using; and here may perhaps be the best place to introduce the general *corrective* remark alluded to above.

In England there are few whole edifices of one style only; and even where there has been a building carried on upon one plan to completion, we sometimes find that, though the plan is retained, either the forms or the mouldings of the portions executed at the later periods are more or less adapted to the style then prevalent. Of this Westminster Abbey and the Cloisters at Norwich afford examples. A second source of difficulty in assigning buildings to their proper styles is that a form common in an earlier style is continued for a long period in some particular buildings, after it has been almost or quite extinct in other buildings; this is rare in England, but some examples are to be found.

In France both these sources of confusion occur to a great extent, and some buildings which have been very long in erecting have both. These anomalies in some districts are more prevalent than in others, and an illustration in point may be taken from the steeples about Caen and in other parts.

Those of Norman date had, in some of the stages, several compartments of pannelling, of which the alternate ones, or if four the two middle ones, were pierced for windows; these were often, if the steeple was lofty, of a long proportion; when the next style came, of course, according to the usual character of that style, they were lengthened; and when the Decorated style was formed, these long windows continued to occur, but they were a little modified by being made very small two lights; yet the same general appearance of these steeples was preserved by this adaptation for near 400 years; and so nearly is the outward form alike, that it requires a close approach to discern what the real style is.

One other instance of resemblance in the details of very different periods

may be found in the spires being cut in tiles or shingles : this begins very early, and continues very late. This illustration will, I trust, explain my meaning ; and I may also remark that in France there is much more mixture of the features of different styles in the portions of buildings that were erected at the same period than we generally find in England.

Although it is evident that the gradation in France, from the Norman style to the *Early French*, was carried on as in England by imperceptible degrees, yet we are not able to trace it so clearly from the continued tendency to Norman mixtures, which lasted till the style again changed to Decorated.

We have therefore in each church, a greater or less mixture and very few pure buildings like our Early English in its confirmed state, and before the enlargement of windows, which marks our later buildings of that style, and forms the transition to the next. Of these pure buildings we found two so very excellent that they deserve especial mention. One is the church of Norrey, near Caen, a cross church, with a lofty steeple and a circular apsis, with chapels. The other, the Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux, which was a monastery, and the buildings are mostly modern, except the chapel, which has lately been cleaned, and some restorations executed not in the best style ; its beautiful porch is, however, still in a ruinous state. This chapel is a single plain groined space, with double lancet windows. It is in character and simple beauty more like the eastern portion of the Temple church than any thing we saw. This chapel has a curious eastern termination, which will be noticed when that subject is treated of.

Norrey has its choir and north porch of a much richer character than the Seminary chapel, but still in its details, mouldings, and foliage, very pure, and much like English work.

These examples, with various small portions, occurring in different buildings, are sufficient to shew that, although not always (perhaps I might say, not often) so worked, yet that the Early French style, when pure, was very much like the Early English. During this transition and that to the next style, many very large buildings were begun, and the Early English base of piers (the attic base worked to hold water) is as common in France as in England, if not indeed more so. During this time also the piers have varied,

though not exactly as in England, yet so much so, as not to require particular enumeration, except in one case, arising from the general plan of finishing the eastern portion of the French churches; this, in very nearly every large church and a great many small ones, is with a circular or multangular apsis, and this rendered it convenient to use a pier very seldom, if ever, used in England, that is a double column engaged in each other, the plan forming a figure of 8, one shaft to the choir and the other to the aisle. This arrangement is continued from very early French to very late work; and at one cathedral, these shafts have been fluted in modern times.

As the Cathedral of Amiens is usually contrasted with Salisbury Cathedral, it will be proper here to notice the portal, or grand entrance, which forms so important a portion of most of the western façades, and in many of the transept ends, of the larger French churches. They have in most instances the centre doors double; and in far the greater number, the head of the actual doorway is a straight line leaving a large tympanum. The sides are often very deep, far beyond almost any English Norman doors, and are very generally filled with saints of very large dimensions, in niches which are continued up the sides of the arches, and thus, with the tympanum, which is also often carved with statues in niches, or relieved figures in groups, forming a mass of statuary, which at a little distance becomes confused; and the straight line at the head of the door having above it other straight lines of figures, the whole has a very unsatisfactory appearance from the arches being abruptly cut by these straight lines. This mode of ornamenting the portals began about 1200, and continued more or less to the latest period; but not to quite so great an extent in the Flamboyant style, as some of the transept doors of that style are not so overpowered with statuary.

It may be well to remark that the nail-head and toothed ornaments, though found in France, are by no means so abundant as in England; there is, however, a great similarity in the style of carving at the same date in both countries.

The enlarged windows, which led on in both countries to the Decorated style, appeared apparently at an early period, as parts of Amiens have real Decorated windows; but it is not absolutely clear that they are so early as the walls, for many practical reasons might occur to defer the windows, the tracery at least, till a later period. However this may be, there seems

to have been a rather abrupt assumption of windows with geometrical tracery, much of which, from the large size of the churches, is very beautiful; and very soon appeared the glory of the French large churches, their magnificent wheels. In this particular we cannot compete with France. I am not certain that we have twenty wheel windows in England, which, for size and tracery, can well be named; while in most of the cathedrals in France there are one, often two, and sometimes three; and they are of all dates, from Early French to the latest Flamboyant, and from their size are often very elaborate; and many of their large windows have wheels of very rich character in their heads. The advance of flowing tracery not Flamboyant, does not seem to have taken place in France so completely as in England; the tracery continuing apparently longer of a geometrical character, and then almost at once becoming Flamboyant.

As there appear to be few pure Early French buildings, there appear to be as few pure Decorated ones; that is, buildings the style of which is without a tendency either *backwards* or *forwards*; but there are many portions; and one chancel of a small church, Tour en Bessin, near Bayeux, is so beautiful and so completely harmonizes with our best English Decorated work, that it deserves especial notice. It is a cross church, the nave Norman, and the aisles destroyed, and the arches built up; a central tower and transept. The tower and spire seem earlier than the chancel, which has very large windows above a lofty arcade. In this arcade (now very much mutilated, and part converted into cupboards and shut up) there have been two rich piscinas and three stalls; there may have been more stalls, but they are not now visible; above this arcade a band of quatrefoils ran under a cornice and pierced parapet, with a passage between it and the windows. The chapel is beautifully groined, and has had a south door, the outside of which remains. All this work is of the purest character, and the mouldings bear a great analogy in character and combination to some of our best English Decorated work.

This church renders it necessary again to revert to the finishing of the east ends of large and small churches;—after 1200 it appears, during the prevalence of the Early French style, to have been not uncommon in smaller churches, to have the east ends flat; for we found many country churches with three lancets and a flat east end, but of these nearly all were stopt.

A few east ends we also saw with Decorated windows at the east end, and the end flat. One large church in a town (Louviers) between Rouen and Evreux, the date of which is known to be 1218, had originally a flat east end and lancet, but now has a plaster addition to make a sort of circular apsis.

As a curious sort of intermediate finish of the east end, the Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux and this Decorated chancel at Tour, may be cited, and I know not that we have anything like either of them in England. The first is easily described: at the east end one shaft rises in the middle and another behind it, then on each side of this shaft a recess, being three sides of an octagon, is formed; thus giving a singular and very beautiful finish, and still more beautiful groining, to the east end. (See Plate XVII.) I suspect this east end had originally two altars.

At Tours another and much more elaborate composition is exhibited. Here we have the east end divided into three arches, the middle one containing a very fine five-light Decorated window, and each side arch having three sides of an octagon outwards; two of them with two-light windows, and the other with a one-light window; all with good and varied Decorated tracery. The arcade which is inside the side windows, also runs inside of these polygonal portions, and is separately groined from its own shafts, and then the principal space again groined: the intricacy and beauty of this roof altogether I have seldom seen exceeded. It is not easy to describe this in words, but I trust a plan of the groining will make it clear. (See Plate XVIII.) The choir of St. Ouen at Rouen, and some parts of the transepts of this church and the cathedral, exhibit fine specimens of the French Decorated style.

It may be proper here to remark that the cathedrals of some of the southern parts of France have various portions and combinations strikingly recalling their vicinity to Italy, and the modifications thence arising; but this subject belongs to that more minute view of each style which I propose to take hereafter.

Before proceeding to the last or Flamboyant style, it is right to notice the continuance nearly through all the styles of that most simple mode of groining which, with us, is characteristic of the Early English style; and I think this is easily accounted for by the greater height, not only actual, but

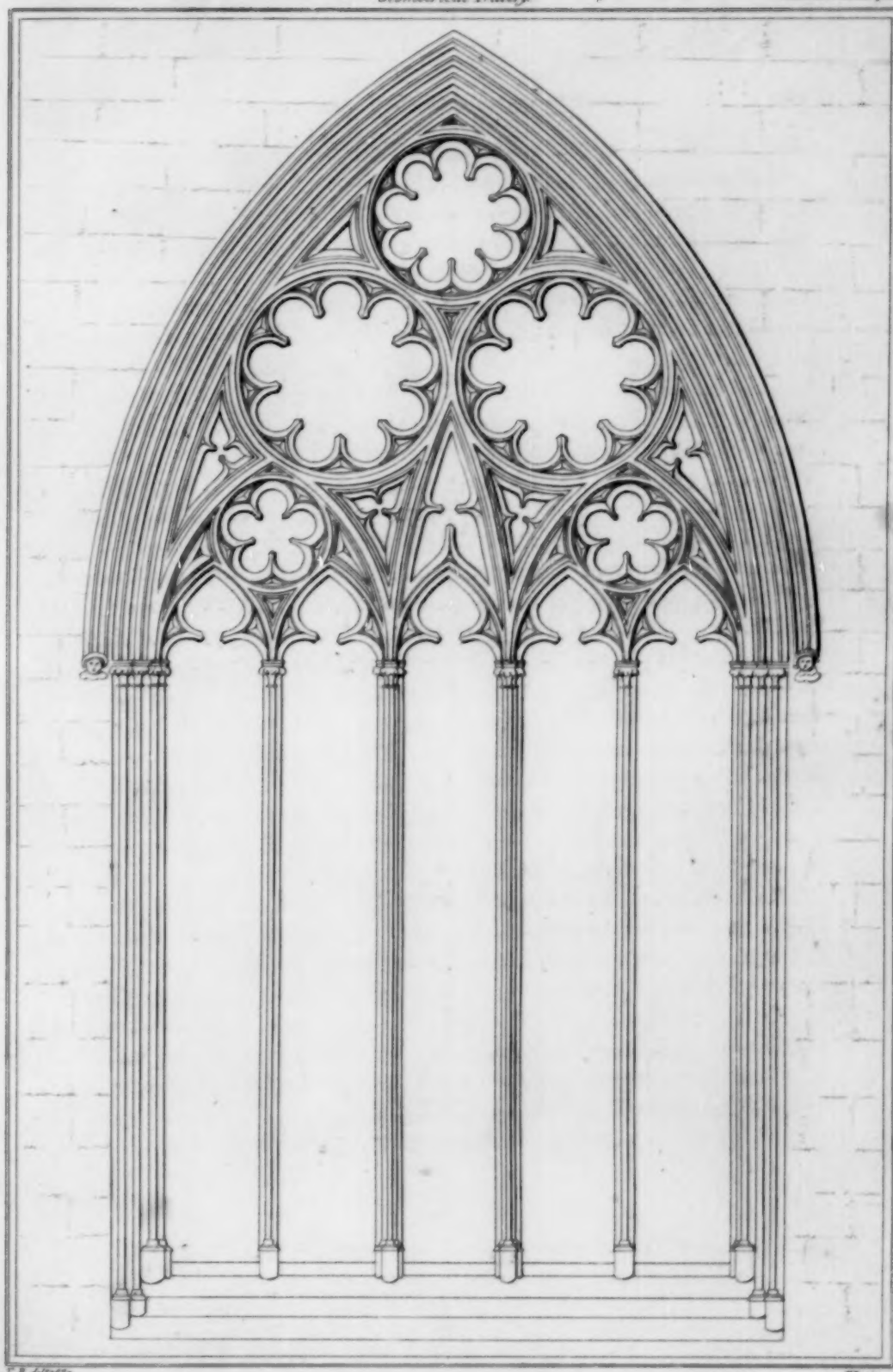
proportional, in the French edifices, which rendered useless the elaborate groinings of our lower and lower proportioned churches; for the carving of the bosses, with us so beautiful, would be utterly lost at the distance and the angle it would be seen at in French churches. That the French architects did it from choice, is evident from the occasional use in proper places—small chapels, niches, &c. of very elaborate and beautiful groining: but I do not recollect seeing any real fan tracery, though some roofs have pendants.

It may be well here to notice two singularities which run through all the later French styles: one is, the absence of all battlements, properly so called, whether real as parapets, or ornamental in buttresses, niches, &c. where they are so frequently used in England; instead of them we have a profusion of pierced parapets of elaborate composition. The other ornamental difference is in the feathering or cuspidation of arches in tracery, &c. In England, although the earliest feathering is generally a trefoil, yet the cinquefoil is used in Early English work, and is continued and used indifferently with the trefoil to the latest time. In France, though it cannot be said the cinquefoil is never used, yet the trefoil is so constant that cinquefoiled examples are very rare.

In many of the large churches, such as the Cathedrals of Amiens and Rouen, and the church of St. Ouen at Rouen, and at a few other places, the triforium is glazed as a window, and being in these instances large and lofty, and filled with stained glass, has a very fine effect.

Of the stained glass I may say, that it is astonishing that so much has been saved as is still remaining, and its quality is mostly very good indeed. A careful examination with a good telescope is (from its distance from the eye) essential to a proper appreciation of its value.

I have said little of the minor adjuncts—screen-work, wood-work, &c. but I may here mention that the Cathedral of Evreux alone contains a complete mine of beautiful enrichments and tracery in wood screen-work, and in iron locks, handles, &c. The beautiful shrine of St. Taurin in that city is a complete silver gilt cross chapel, of the best Early French character and most admirable execution, and considerable size, being about five feet long, two feet wide, and three feet high, having many fine figures appearing in

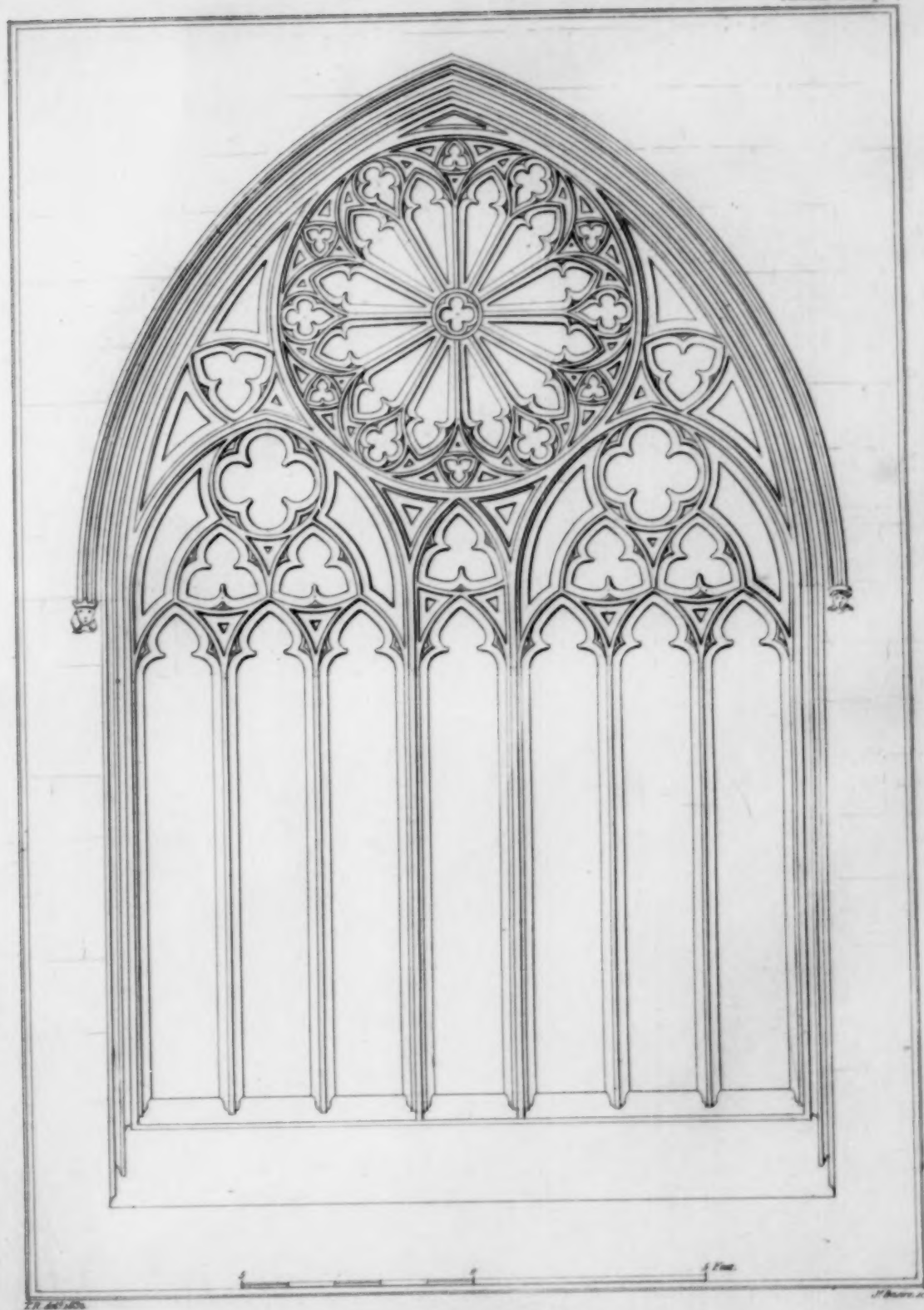


F. R. de la Roche.

J. B. de la Roche.

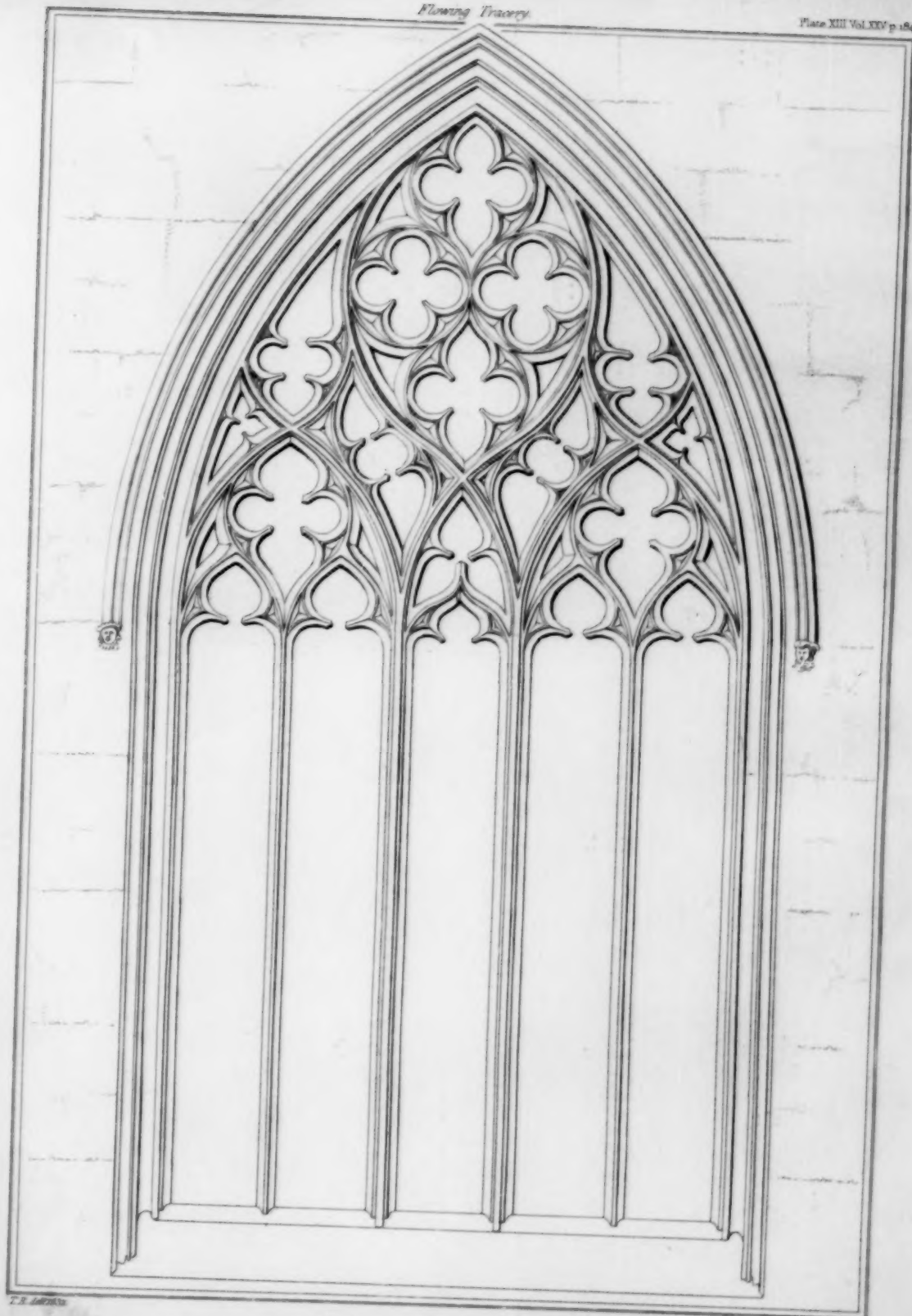
*An English Decorated Window.
Character of the Chapter House, York.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1872.



*A French Decorated Window.
Bayeux Cathedral.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 1851.

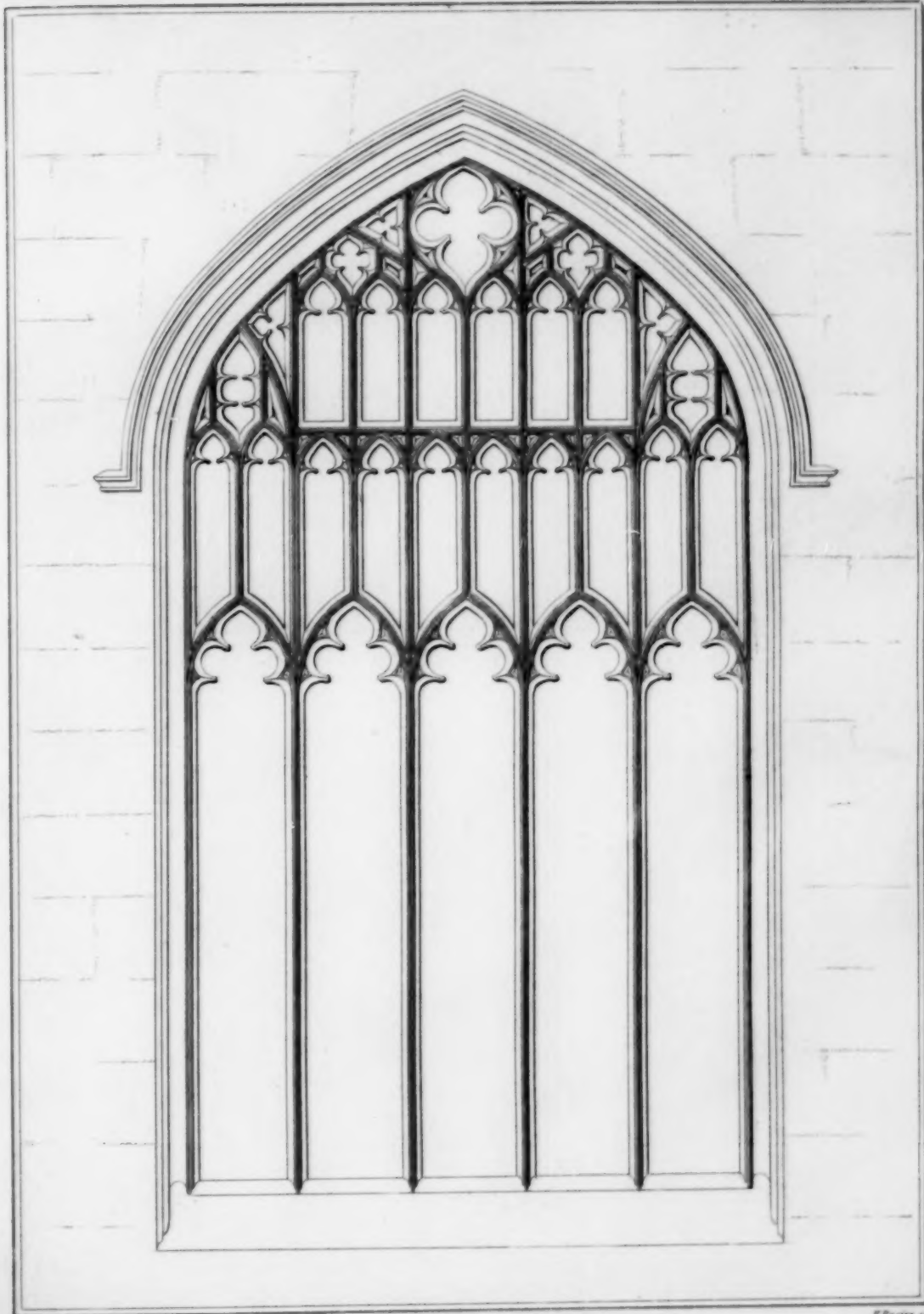


T. R. LARSEN

*An English Decorated Window.
Heckington Church, Lincolnshire.*

J. B. B. & C.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 27th 1888.

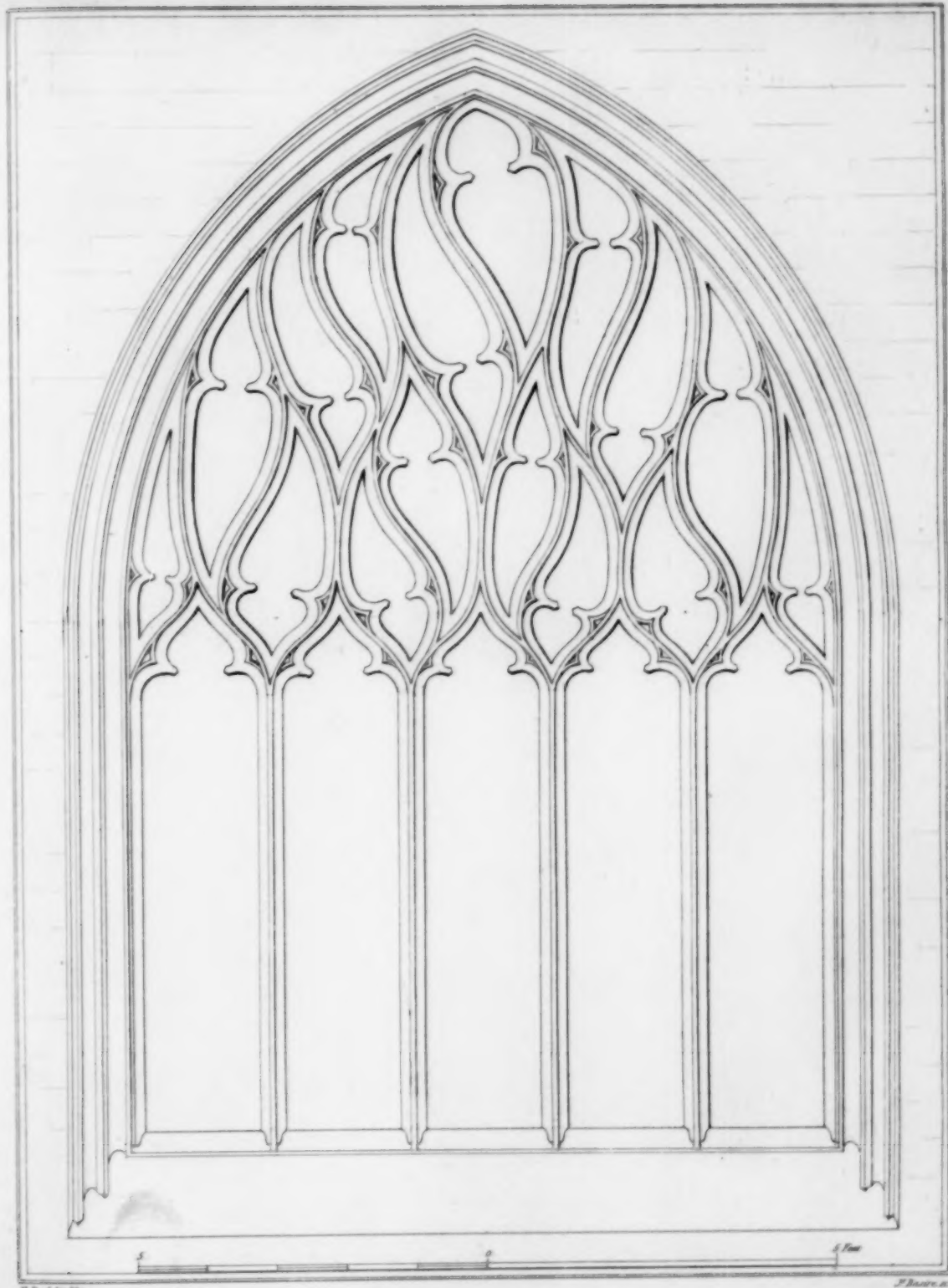


T.R. del. 1831.

J. Baire. sc.

*An English Perpendicular Window.
Eaton Socon Church. Bedfordshire.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 15th 1832.

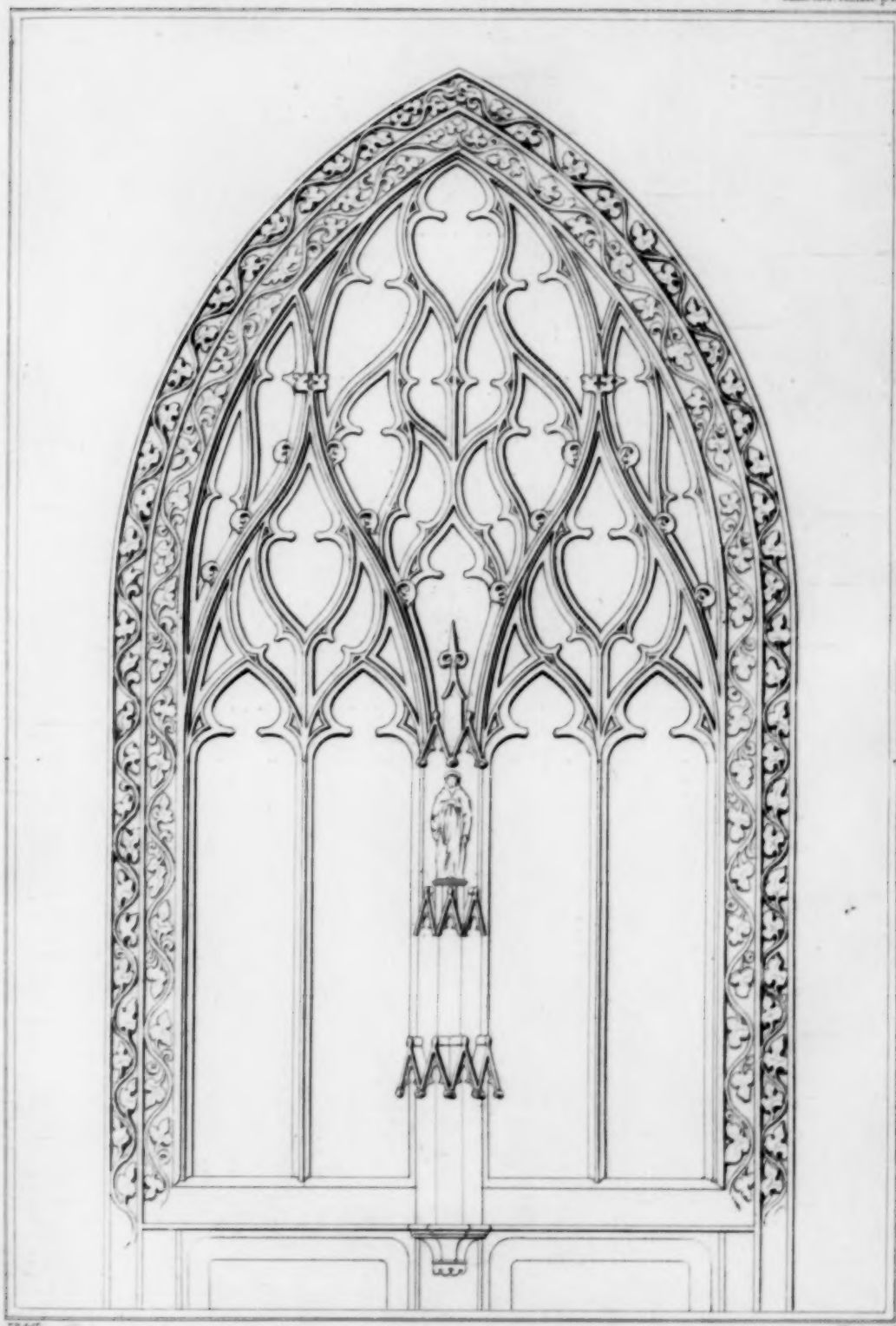


E.R. 60/183a.

J. Bouverie del.

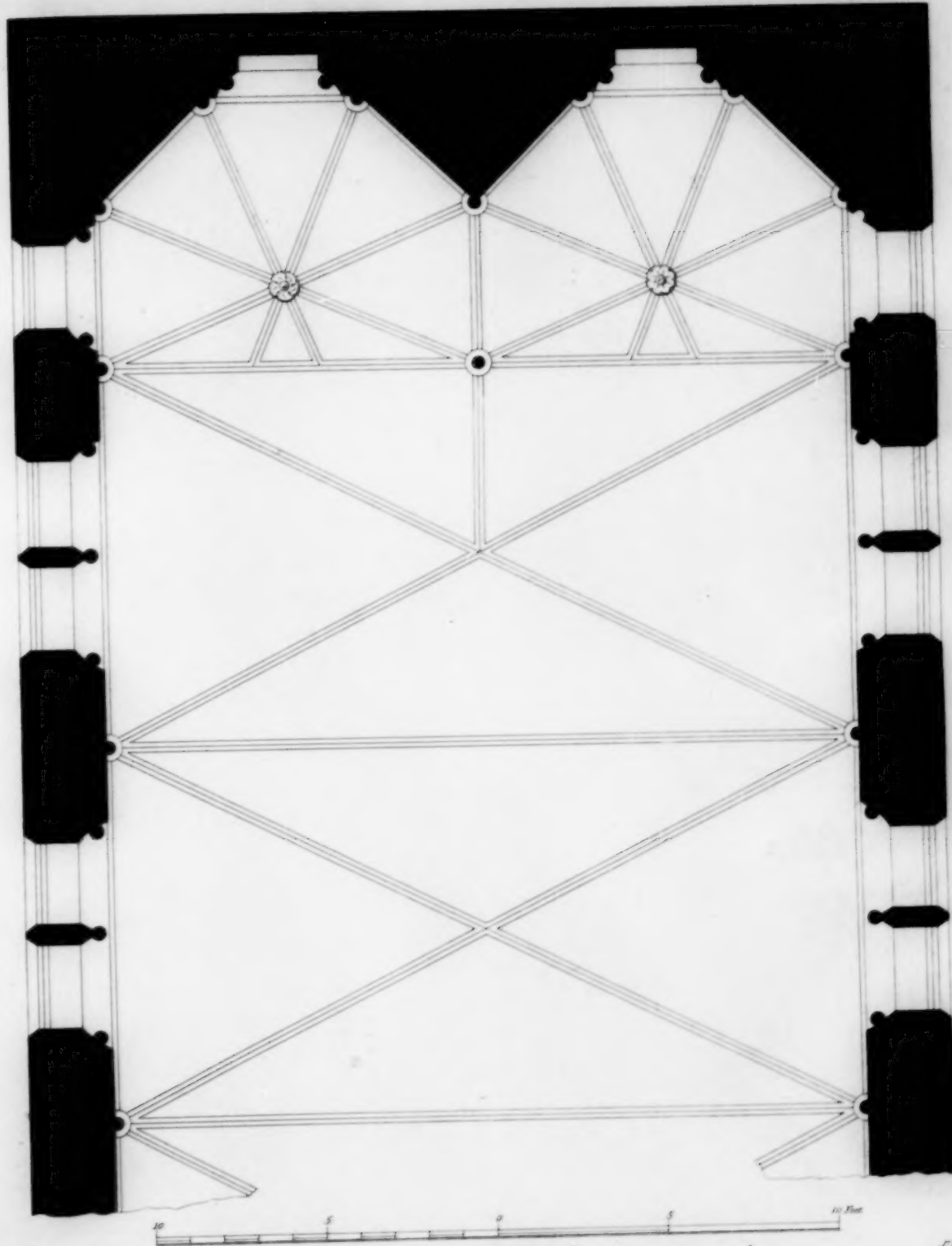
*A French Flamboyant Window.
St Germain at Pont Audemer.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1874.



*A French Flamboyant Window
Over the Doors in the South Porch, Hagflour.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, at 14, Old St. Martin's Lane.

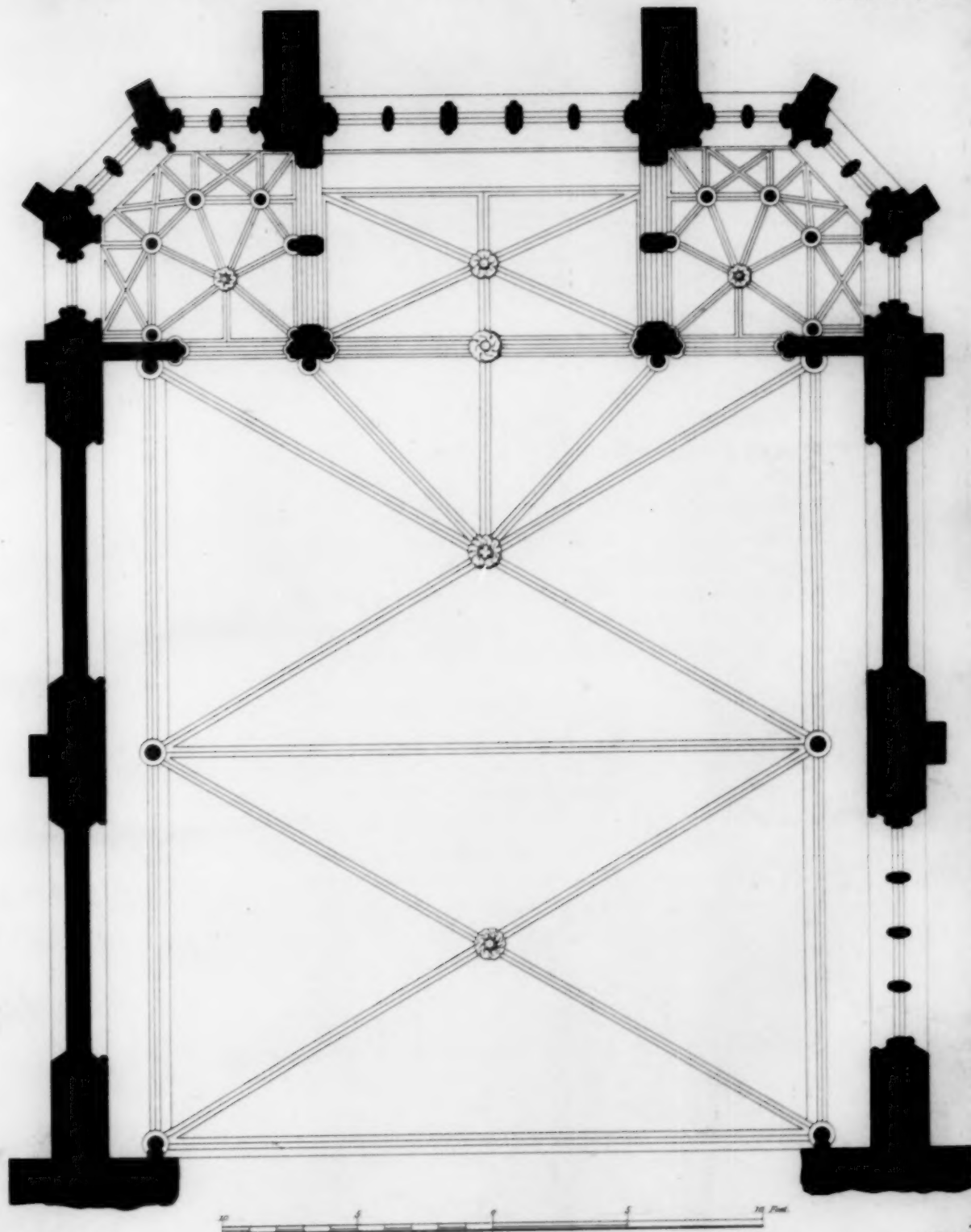


T.R. 2271.187a

Chapel of the Seminary at Bayeux.
Plan of the East End & Groining.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 27th 1880.

J. B. 2271.187a



T.R. del. 1802.

J. Baire sc.

Tour, near Bayeux.
Plan of the Choir & Groining.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 18th 1803.

the arches, and beautiful foliage in the crockets, &c. : if executed in stone as a chapel it would make a very fine building. Other edifices contain portions of screen-work, &c. of great value, and I believe some at least of the silver utensils, crosses, lamps, &c. are of ancient date.

I now proceed to the last or Flamboyant style. Like our Perpendicular style, it seems to have come out nearly at once, as we see very little transition from Decorated to it ; though the nave of St. Ouen is such in some degree, but perhaps in a greater degree an adaptation of the latter style to the character of the choir.

Like the Perpendicular style, its piers are often without capitals, the mouldings running into the arches ; like the Perpendicular, it has a variety of bases to its piers, and also a variety of small buttresses to its niches ; and it has also that interpenetration of mouldings and piers with bases, taking one set of mouldings and missing another, which is so common in the English Perpendicular. It has its mouldings flattened and with large hollows, like English later work ; but with these points the agreement nearly ends, and the styles are in other points curiously contrasted. Although the Perpendicular style admits of great richness, we find it often worked very plain, yet retaining all the real character of the style ; while plain Flamboyant seems very uncommon in France.

Its essence seems to be elaborate and minute ornament, and this continues till the forms and combinations are sadly debased, and a strange mixture of Italianisms jumbled with it. Its combinations in the earlier part of the style, for richness, elaborate ornament, and magnificent design, are admirable ; and no one can visit Rouen, where there are many churches still used and others now desecrated, and contemplate leisurely the beautiful church of St. Mac-lou, without feeling the value of the style, and also the value of that fine stone which seems to have encouraged the Flamboyant architects to vie with each other in elaborate decoration. The portals of Abbeville, Beauvais, St. Riquier, Evreux, and of St. Maclou at Rouen, parts of Caudebec church and various other churches, are some of the finest specimens of this style.

Some of the towers of this style are very fine, but too often mutilated ; and the spire of one of the western towers of the Cathedral of Chartres may also

be mentioned as a fine specimen. I might add Harfleur and some other smaller churches.

The combination of tracery called Flamboyant, is not easy to express in words, and we have very little like it in England. An example or two exhibited, will be the best explanation.

As in England, during this style a material alteration took place in the arches of doors, windows, &c. and in the same direction, viz. to become flatter; but is curious that it took an entirely different direction. While the English four-centered arch kept getting flatter and flatter, till it became a mere turn for the small arch and a straight line for the larger one; it still preserved a point, and, even when flattened so as to rise only a few inches, still preserved its character; of this arch I can find no distinct trace in France, though I will not say it does not exist, but its French companion, the flattened arch of the Flamboyant style, which is used as much as our four-centered arch, is a very simple one, consisting of an absolute straight line in the centre, and the angles rounded off with a quarter circle, giving more or less height to the arch as the radius of the quarter circle is greater or smaller. In domestic work the aperture often becomes a straight line with a drip, or other ornamental moulding or canopy over it. This style is exhibited in wooden domestic work in many parts of France, gradually adopting more and more Italianisms till they overpower all traces of Gothic.

In churches it is not so easy to trace the debasement, but parts of some churches at Caen shew it clearly.

Of the details of this style I have little more to say; but I must notice two very disagreeable piers which are not uncommon in this style. One is, a series of eight hollows and eight rounds without fillets; this pier has a capital to each round, but it looks very poor and meagre from the want of fillets; it is used at Beauvais and some other places. The other is a plain round pier with no capital, but the moulding jumping out of the pier side, as if they had been soft and the pier stuck up into them. I know not that we have anything like these in England.

I have heretofore noticed the very capricious omission and insertion of the drip moulding in all the French styles, and both inside and out. In England, the nature of the material, or some other apparent reason, occurs

for this omission ; but in France, I can discover no law or local reason for its use in some instances, and its omission in others. I may also notice that the flat character of the primitive Norman arch faces, with perhaps a large bead for the only moulding, continues to appear to a late date, and in some degree to operate till the two hollows of the Flamboyant style supersede that flatness.

From the very great height of the large churches this character will be little noticed ; but a good telescope (which is especially required to see many things in the French churches) will soon discover the absence of those rich suits of mouldings, so common in the arches of our large churches.

As one more characteristic of the Flamboyant style, may be noticed the use of a small number of very large crockets in the canopies of large portals ; the effect produced is very fine, but very different from any of our Perpendicular combinations.

There are many more remarks I have to make on the minutiae of the progress of Architecture within my assigned limits, both in England and France, but I must reserve them for that comparison, style by style, which I propose, if favoured with health, to make more at large ; but I hope I have said enough to induce those who have time and opportunity to study the styles of architecture in different countries, not as contradictions, but as members of the same family with local differences.

If this is done with a basis of extensive *English knowledge* (for I still think that in England will be found the most clearly marked features of each style in its purity) then will every succeeding essay, giving details of buildings in any part of Europe, be eminently useful, and lead the way to what is much wanted, a general statement of the progress of architecture in Europe ; and why may this not hereafter enable us to acquire some systematic knowledge as to the Mahommedan and Hindu buildings, to which we are but strangers at present.

It will give me great pleasure, if any Member of the Society who has visited other parts of France which I have not, would give some account of what he has found there.

I remain, thine truly,

THOMAS RICKMAN.

XII. *Observations on Dracontia; Communicated by the Rev. JOHN BATHURST DEANE, M.A., F.S.A., in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 13th December, 1832.



The first stone of the Temple of Carnac, and the Cross on the opposite side of the road.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE introductions which you kindly procured for me to the Authorities in Britany having enabled me, through the assistance of Mr. Vicars, a professional surveyor of Exeter, to complete a Plan of the Druidical Temple of Carnac, I have great pleasure in requesting you to lay it before the Society of Antiquaries, together with the following Observations on Dracontia. In these observations there is little of novelty; but I have adopted this method of introducing my remarks upon Carnac, because by it I can convey with greater ease and clearness my sentiments on the figure and dedication of this Sanctuary.

Of all histories the most interesting is the *religious* history of mankind; and, the more nearly a superstition approaches to the truth, the more animating is the research, and the more gratifying the discoveries which result from it. Such a fascination I have felt in the worship of the SERPENT; and in the pursuit of some further *architectural* evidences of its prevalence in the ancient world, I visited and explored the monuments of Carnac. The result of my inquiries I now offer to the Society, in the humble hope that the zeal which induced me to undertake the task, may atone for the imperfections which attend its execution.

I. The first worshippers of GOD adored Him in a temple "made without hands," bowing down before His throne under the canopy of heaven: and the first idolaters in like manner bent the knee to Baal in *roofless* sanctuaries. Whether there was any mystery contained in this practice, or whether it may be attributed to the infancy of the arts, when architecture was too feeble to lift the massy dome upon the unhewn column, I will not stop to enquire. Nothing is more obvious than the *gradual* improvement of architecture; and nothing more natural than that the primitive worshipper should desire to behold the God of his adoration "face to face," without even a cloud to intercept his eye from the place of His imagined abode. The first temples were therefore *open to the heavens*.

But there is another peculiarity of these primitive sanctuaries which deserves to be noticed. They were inclosed by no walls, and terminated by no portals, they were as open to the earth around, as to the heavens above them: so that whether we look for the primitive temple in the *Solar Circle*, or the *parallelitha* of the Dracontium, we shall perceive the same features, pillar after pillar placed at intervals, singly and independently, yet with a view to one constant principle. Of the *mystic* character of these columns much curious information has been preserved in history. *They were all supposed to be individually animated by an emanation of the Deity to whose honour they were raised.* It seems probable that, at first, they were erected *singly*, and afterwards *grouped* to form temples. Some such notion seems to be implied in the 28th chapter of Genesis, where the patriarch Jacob is represented as erecting a pillar to Jehovah. The passage is remarkable: "Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place and I knew it not! And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place!

This is none other but *the house of God*, and this is the gate of heaven! And Jacob rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a *pillar*, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place *Beth-El*."

Here we observe that the *open* place upon which the patriarch stood is called "*the house of God* ; and he erects a *pillar* to mark the spot. These circumstances may imply either that *temples* were at that time *unknown*, or that they were formed by an *enclosure of pillars*.

The Church of God, however, did not worship in temples until Solomon built the first temple in Jerusalem. Whether this action of Jacob gave rise to the custom of erecting the pillars called by the Greeks "*Baitulia* ;" or whether, from a custom well known in those ages, the patriarch borrowed the idea of his action, may be doubtful. It is evident, however, that *Baitulia* is the same word as *Beth-El* ; for the same mystery was involved in both ; they were both supposed to be symbols of *the Divine Presence*.

The heathen *Baitulia* were thought to be animated by the God to whom they were consecrated. Sanchoniathon says, that "Ouranus invented them, having made stones which possessed life." The Rocking Stones of the Druids may have been designed to perpetuate the same superstition ; but the notion was extended, by vulgar credulity, to the stationary pillars of their temples. Thus, in every country some tale of metamorphosis is invariably connected with them. It is a common tradition in England that the stones composing the Druidical Circles were once human beings, and petrified in the mazes of a dance. *Stonehenge* was thus called "The Dance of the Giants : " *Rowldrich*, in Oxfordshire, is supposed to have been a king and his nobles : *Stanton-Drew*, in Somersetshire, was a company at a wedding : "Long Meg and her daughters," in Cumberland ; and the "Hurlers," in Cornwall, are immortalized by similar fables. In like manner we read in ancient fables, of "the stones which danced round Orpheus and Amphion," these being no other than solar circles of the Druidical structure, as may be proved by comparing the account of Pausanias with the ascertained theory of the solar temples.

Consistently with these analogies, we are also told by the devout peasants of Britany, that the stones of Carnac are the soldiers of an army petrified by

St. Cornelius ; while others maintain that they are inhabited by supernatural dwarfs !

All these superstitions probably originated in *the animated Baitulia*. The worshippers of the Sun made their Baitulia in a *conical* form, to represent a *pencil of solar rays* ; and a *circular* collection of such stones very appropriately represented the *sun's disk*.

Of this kind are the circular temples of the Druids. They were all dedicated to the Sun, and described his figure : the pillars of which they are composed being generally of a pyramidal or conical form.

I am aware that many learned antiquaries incline to ascribe some astronomical mystery to these circles, such as the symbolization of *days, months, and years* ; and some have gone so far as to conceive them to be the representations of *Constellations*, or of the *Zodiac*. But I apprehend that the more simple the theory in which we indulge respecting the recondite allusions of a religion which possessed no letters,* and left few hieroglyphics, the more nearly are we likely to approach the truth. Of one thing, at least, I am persuaded, that the astronomical theorist will find it necessary to change his opinion with almost every temple which he visits, no two agreeing in the exact number of stones required to represent the given idea. And it is scarcely probable that so many varieties of design should enter into the formation of the sanctuaries of a religion so pure and simple and elementary.

This improbability increases when we consider that in almost every religion with which we are acquainted, *the figure of the temple is the hierogram of its God*.

The hierogram of the Sun was a *Circle* ; the temples of the Sun were *circular*. The Arkites adored the personified Ark of Noah ; their temples were built in the form of a *Ship*. The Ophites adored a Serpent-deity ; the temple assumed the figure of a *Serpent*. And, to come more home to our own times and feelings, the Christian retains a remnant of the same idea when he builds his churches in the form of a *Cross* ; the *cross* being at once the symbol of his creed and the hierogram of his God.

* Much ingenuity has been displayed by learned and ardent men on what are called "The Ogham Characters," but I confess myself to be among those who require *more proof* that they were not simply *hieroglyphics*.

The Ophite hierogram, which furnished the pattern of the Dracontium, was variously delineated. The most common form was *the Serpent passing through a globe or circle*; or, *two serpents issuing from it in opposite directions*. The Globe was occasionally decorated with *wings*, but in building Dracontia the wings were omitted: at least, no *alate* Dracontia have as yet been discovered. Much ingenuity has been exercised by Kircher to account for the origin of this hierogram. He supposes that Hermes Trismegistus was the inventor of it. This person was probably high priest of the Egyptian God Thoth, or Thrice Great Hermes, and assumed his name in compliance with the common custom of the religion.

According to his interpretation, the *Globe* typified *the simple Essence of God*, which he called the FATHER, or the FIRST MIND, or the SUPREME WISDOM. The *Serpent* emerging from the globe was the "vivifying power of God," which called all things into existence: this he named the WORD. The *Wings* implied "the moving or penetrative principle of God," which pervaded all things: this is LOVE. *The whole of the tripartite emblem* thus defined, represented the Supreme Being in his character of the *Designer*, the *Creator*, and the *Preserver*.^b

Without *contradicting* an hypothesis so ingenious and serviceable, I cannot help thinking that it approaches too nearly to Evangelical truth to be the conceit of an Egyptian priest. A more simple origin would agree better with the simplicity of primitive idolatry. If, therefore, I may be allowed to venture a conjecture, I should imagine that the hierogram of the *Circle and Serpent*, was compounded of *two* hierograms, that of the *Sun*, and that of the *Serpent*: originally independent of each other, but subsequently united. For there were unquestionably two original, distinct idolatries, *Heliolatrea* and *Ophiolatrea*, which in the process of time were merged into *one*, and became the worship of APOLLO. The legend of Apollo taking possession of the temple of Python at Delphi, alludes to the subversion of the worship of the Serpent by the worshippers of the Sun; but that the original Ophiolatrea was not *annihilated* on this occasion, appears from the retention of the *Pythian* priestess, the *Dracontic* tripod, and the *live serpents* which were kept in the adyta of the temple. The dominant religion in every country has adopted some of the usages of the superseded ritual; and the victors

^b Kircher, Pamph. Obel. 399.

have uniformly planted the standard of their faith on the sacred places of the vanquished. Thus when the Sun (or his votaries) obtained possession of Delphi, *he built a circular temple upon the ruins of Python*, as we may infer from the language of Homer's hymn to Apollo, where he says that, Trophonius having laid the threshold stone, a multitude of labourers built a temple round it.—'Αμφὶ δὲ νηὶν ἔνασσαν.

In Christian countries also, the adoption of the rites, and not unfrequently the superstitions, of the local religion is observable. Thus in Britany much of Ophiolatrea mingles with the Christianity of the peasantry; and in Rome the customs, and occasionally the creed, of the Imperial times has been adopted by the Papal. In almost every old city of Christendom, we may also remark, that the Christian church is built upon the site of a heathen temple: as if it were a postulate of natural religion that a spot once set apart for religious uses should be consecrated for ever.

Hence I infer that the votaries of the Sun, having taken possession of an Ophite temple, adopted some of its rites, and thus in process of time arose the compound religion whose God was named *Apollo*. In coincidence with this conjecture is the derivation of this word. It is compounded of *ΟΡΗ*, the Serpent deity, and *ΕΛ*, the Sun. *ΟΡΗΕΛ*, accordingly, is very generally found to be the god of the countries where the worship of *APOLLO* prevailed.^c

A subsidiary argument is the universal hostility which existed between the votaries of the two superstitions; in consequence of which, the worshippers of the Serpent were continually exposed to the violence of the children of the Sun: "the Sun" and "the Serpent" being the Good and Evil Genius. This hostility may be traced in Persia, in India, in Greece, in Mexico, and in Peru: in all of which countries the worshippers of the Sun prevailed over and nearly exterminated those of the Serpent. In Colonel Tod's history of Rajasthan, we have an account of the persecutions which the *Takshacs* (*snake-worshippers*) experienced from the rest of their countrymen: and the Indian mythology is full of the enmity of the children of *Surya* (the Sun) against the followers of *Budh* (the Serpent).

The constant enmity of the rival religions is strikingly illustrated by the Etruscan Vases found on the estate of Canino in Italy, and described in the

^c Bryant, Anal. 2, *passim*.

twenty-third volume of the *Archæologia*. Upon several of these vases are depicted contending warriors, some of whose shields are charged with the device of an *Eagle*, the symbol of the children of Surya, while others bear the *Serpent*, the emblem of Budh : and these are invariably opposed to each other ; the *Eagle* being generally, if not always, victorious.

The hierogram of the *Circle and Serpent* may therefore be the hieroglyphic of the God *OPHEL*, whose worship originated in the union of the idolatries of the Sun and Serpent. Temples built after this pattern were called *DRACONTIA* : a name which is singularly expressive of their form, if the derivation suggested to me by an ingenious friend^d be permitted. According to this interpretation, *Dracon* would imply דֶּרֶךְ-אֶרֶץ (*Derech-on*), "an avenue of the Sun." The worshippers of the Sun would eagerly convert the windings of the Serpent into *avenues to the Circle* ; while at the same time the Ophite would as readily translate *Dracon* into a "*Dragon*," or *Great Serpent*. Each perversion would flatter the ascendancy of its own superstition.

In strict coincidence with this theory, is the remark of Servius, in his Commentary on Virgil, *Æneid*. ii. v. 240, where he distinguishes the uses of the words, *anguis*, *serpens*, and *draco*, confining the latter to temples. "*Angues aquarum sunt, serpentes terrarum, et Dracones templorum.*" The word *draco*, originally signifying "an avenue of the Sun," would, in common language, soon become the cognomen of a *large Serpent*, from the figure of such temples, which were as Ovid accurately describes them,

"FACTAQUE DE SAXO LONGI SIMULACHRA DRACONIS."

The true Dracontic hierogram thus originating, became a symbol of consecration so general as to remain even upon temples long after the Ophite worship was exterminated. Thus Persius, in speaking of a place set apart from profane and indecent uses, writes :

Pinge duos angues. Pueri, sacer est locus.—Sat. i. 113.

The portals of all the Egyptian temples are decorated with the same hierogram of the *Circle and Serpent*. We find it also upon the temple of Naki Rustan in Persia ; upon the triumphal arch at Pekin in China ; over the gates of the great temple of Chandi Sewu in Java ; upon the walls of

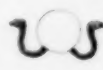
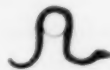
^d The Rev. George Andrews, Vicar of Sutton, Berks.



Medusa's Head



Ophite Hierograms.



From the Isiac Table.

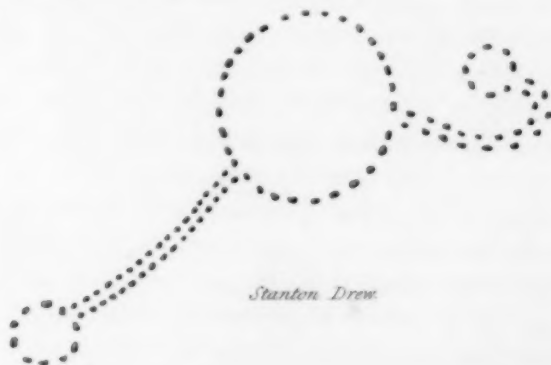


The Ophite Hierogram of Medusa's Head.



Abury

Silbury Hill



Stanton Drew



Merivale on Dartmoor

J. Baume, sc.

Athens, and in the temple of Minerva at Tegea : for the Medusa's head, so common in Grecian sanctuaries, is nothing more than the Ophite hierogram, with its circle filled up by a human face; as exhibited in the accompanying plate. (See Pl. XIX.) Even Mexico, remote as it was from the ancient world, has preserved, with Ophiolatrea, its universal symbol. The Mexican hierogram is formed by the intersecting of two great Serpents, which describe the circle with their bodies, and have each a human head in its mouth. Many other resemblances to this symbol are scattered through the religious hieroglyphic pictures preserved in Lord Kingsborough's splendid collection.

The Ophite hierogram, when filled up with a human countenance, was called the *Gorgon*, and was sacred to Minerva; but when the serpents are twined about a winged rod, it is the *Caduceus* of Mercury: the *talismanic* character being preserved in each.

II. Having now, by these preliminary observations, defined the nature and object of a *DRACONTIUM*, I will proceed to mention the principal temples in Britain which may be included in this class: before I enter more particularly into the description of the Dracontium of Carnac, which is the ultimate point of all these remarks.

The Dracontia which I have visited in England are of different orders, embracing almost every variation of the Ophite hierogram.

The most magnificent in Britain was that of Abury in Wiltshire; the most extensive that of Shap in Westmorland. Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, and the temples on Dartmoor, in Devon, are smaller but more perfect. All these vary in actual figure, but agree in general analogy. The temple of Callernish, in the island of Lewis, was supposed by Stukeley to be a Dracontium; but, if so, it belonged to the second order of the Dracontia, having only a circle at one end, and none in the centre.

Besides these, there appear to have been several others, which either were never completed or have been so ruined as to present very few traces of the Serpent temple. Arbelow, in Derbyshire, which has a mound and vallum exactly similar to Abury, with two openings corresponding to those of that celebrated Dracontium, was probably a temple of the same kind. There are vestiges of stones in the two gaps which appear very like the commencement of the two avenues.

1. ABURY. The Dracontium of Abury has been so elaborately investigated by Dr. Stukeley, and so accurately measured by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, that it would be superfluous to enter into a minute description of it. Abury was a temple of the first class of Dracontia, where one serpent appears to be passing through a globe, or circle. The area of the great circle is 28 acres, 17 perches; the lengths of the serpentine avenues, *a mile on each side of the circle*. The number of stones in the great circumference was a hundred; within which were two double small circles, the outer containing 30, and the inner 12 stones. In the centre of one of these was a group of three stones; in the centre of the other an obelisk 21 feet long and 8 feet 9 inches wide. The avenues consisted of 200 each, and the head of the serpent was composed of two concentric ovals, the outer having 40, and the inner 18 stones. The total number of stones constituting the temple was 646, or perhaps 650. Of these there remain so few, that, had not the true figure of the temple been ascertained by Stukeley in 1723, the theory of Dracontia might never have been discovered. When he visited the temple the head of the serpent, though in ruins, was distinguishable. But it seems to have been perfect in the year 1688, as we may infer from a passage in Pepys's Diary who visited the spot, after having examined the great Circle at Abury.^e Any person acquainted with the locality of the Dracontium will perceive that the "*place with great high stones pitched round, like that of Stonehenge,*" which the traveller saw soon after he left the Great Circle, and about a mile before he reached "the stones in the valley" (*the Grey Wethers*) was the head of the Serpent on Overton Hill, commonly called the "Sanctuary." The following is his memorandum: "In the afternoon came to Abury, where seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge, standing up, I stopped and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and shewed me *a place trenched in like Old Sarum almost*, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge, to my admiration. And he told me that most people of learning coming by, do come and view them; and that the King (Charles the Second) did so I gave this man a shilling. So took coach again, seeing *one place with great stones pitched round,*

^e Vol. iv. p. 131.

which I believe was once a particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But *about a mile off*, it was prodigious to see how full the downes are of great stones, and all along the vallies, stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground: which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those of Abury."

I fully participate in the scepticism of Pepys respecting the legend that no stones of the same kind as those which were used in the formation of Stonehenge and Abury are to be found in the neighbourhood. The valley of the Wethers is an abundant quarry for two more such temples. It is curious that a tradition precisely similar prevails at Carnac, where the whole country is full of stones of the same kind; and in defiance of the self-evident fact, that many of the largest stones of the Dracontium were hewn out of the rocks upon which they stand!

The havock of which Stukeley so bitterly complained, and of which he recorded so painful a memorial, has been ruthlessly carried on by the possessors of Abury to this day! I believe there is but one farmer in the whole parish who does not consider the stones a nuisance. Of the original four hundred stones which composed the Serpent's body, only thirteen are now remaining, the rest having either been broken up to build walls and houses, and to repair the roads; or sunk in the ground and covered over with the soil! Trustees of the turnpike roads may share with the farmers in the disgrace of the destruction: for it is not many years since that they caused several consecutive stones of the Kennet avenue to be removed, when a trifling bend of the road would have saved them.

Although many of the stones have been destroyed, yet a diligent search may detect several which have only been *buried*. Two of these lie six feet under ground in the garden of Mr. Butler, of the Kennet Inn; and a third is known to be under the Bath road. But it is melancholy to linger amidst such desolation. I pass on therefore to,

2. STANTON DREW, the second Dracontium in order of beauty now extant in England. This also is much dilapidated, but more by the hand of time than of man. The figure of this temple was first determined (I believe) by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. I visited it in April 1831.

§ The plan of Stanton Drew is that of the Ophite hierogram, where *two Serpents* emerge from the *Circle*. (See also Plate XIX.) The *two* serpents may have been imagined by the Egyptian hierographers to typify the Good and Evil Genii. If so, the emblem is of more recent origin than that of which Abury presents the copy.

The central circle, or rather oval, of Stanton Drew is 126 yards by 115 in diameter. It originally consisted of thirty stones, of which only thirteen are now remaining, and these much worn by the atmosphere. Stukeley speaks of a "quincuple" circumference, but there are no traces now of more than one.

About forty yards to the east of the great oval is a small circle thirty-two yards in diameter, contained by eight stones, the largest of which is about nine feet high, and twenty in circumference. This circle is connected with the great oval by an avenue of considerable curvature, returning after a distance of eighty yards by an acute angle into the little circle. Of this avenue there are only ten stones in their original places. The average width is about nine or ten yards. The third curvilinear area is 150 yards to the S. W. of the great oval. It is circular, and *ten* of its stones (out of perhaps twelve) remain. These are generally very small. The diameter of the circle is forty-three yards.

I could find no definite traces of an avenue from this circle to the great oval. In some places the ground is rough and broken, having two or three suspicious hollows, indicative of the removal of large stones; although the actual existence of an *avenue* cannot be *proved*. But if we reason from the analogy, not of one but of many like temples, we can have little, if any, doubt of its having been a *Dracontium*. A curious legend also prevailed in the neighbourhood, which, agreeing with numberless traditions of the same kind wherever there was a Serpent temple, amounts to very strong presumptive proof that Stanton Drew was a *Dracontium*. St. Keyna, a holy virgin of the fifth century, is said to have obtained a grant of the land upon which the village of Keynsham now stands, from the prince of the country; who warned her, however, of the insecurity of the gift, in consequence of the *Serpents* of a most deadly species, which infested it. The Saint, notwith-

standing, accepted the grant, and undertook to remove the reptiles. *She converted them all into stones by her prayers!*^f

The suppression of *Serpent worshippers*, and the destruction of *Dracontia*, is always obscured by some legend like the preceding, which in the metamorphosis of *serpents* into *stone* combines the ideas both of the idolaters and their temple.

3. DARTMOOR. The parallelitha of Dartmoor furnish us with an interesting variety of the *Dracontium*. Their peculiarity is, that the avenues are *straight* and the temples in *pairs*. At Merivale Bridge, four miles from Tavistock on the Moreton-hampstead road, is a remarkable group. It consists, or rather consisted, of four temples, *two parallelitha*, and *two circles*. Of the circular temples only one remains entire; but the central obelisk of the other is still standing, and measures about ten feet in height. The circle is formed by eight stones, and is about eighteen yards in diameter.

Between this circle and the road are the *Dracontia*, forming a pair of parallel avenues running east and west, and 105 feet apart. The average width of the avenues is three feet and a half. The stones are generally two feet high, though some are much higher, especially towards the extremities. The longest avenue is 1143 feet. It has an oval in the centre, and *had* a circle at each end, which now are scarcely traceable. The shortest avenue is 792 feet, and terminates in a circle.

The first of these avenues was a *Dracontium* of the same order as Stanton Drew, only the avenues are straight. The second partakes of the form of Callernish; which, however, is far more magnificent than any sanctuary on Dartmoor.

There are other temples on Dartmoor of the same description, but not so extensive. On the brook side, below Black Tor, are two avenues parallel to each other, running east and west, which may be traced for 300 and 180 feet respectively. They are forty feet apart, and each is terminated at the east end by a circle thirty feet in diameter, inclosing a cairn. The stones average the same height as those at Merivale. Similar avenues, but running north and south, occur near Gidleigh Common, of which the pillars are

^f This legend is preserved by Capgrave.

three feet and a half high, and triangular. They may be traced for 432, and 123 feet, respectively.

Many other monuments of the same kind are scattered over the Moor, which, from the multitude of such and other British remains,[§] appears to have been at one time very thickly inhabited. There are also many vestiges of circular huts, and inclosures for cattle, or defence. A summary account of these antiquities is given in a paper presented by Mr. Rowe to the Plymouth Institution 1830: from which I have taken the above memoranda.

It is probable that the early inhabitants of Dartmoor were driven into these bleak and barren regions from pleasanter and more fertile lands by the successive pressures of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes: and that the parallelitha and circles above described, were built in humble imitation of more splendid temples in the lower country. Their smallness and insignificance denote hurry and want of instruments, but there could have been no want of materials on a rocky surface like Dartmoor, abounding in some of the finest granite quarries in England. We may conclude, therefore, that the colony though numerous were feeble and impoverished; and yet their puny works have survived the gigantic Abury, the metropolitan seat of Druidism, erected with such labour and guarded with so much jealousy!

4. SHAP. A more powerful people erected the Dracontium of Shap in Westmorland, which had it been less extensive might have long since ceased to exist. The columns are not to be compared for grandeur with those of Abury, and the whole appearance is less interesting than that of Stanton Drew. Notwithstanding, the avenue of Shap was a work of great labour and vast extent. I could not satisfy myself, upon a cursory view, whether or not it was *strictly* speaking a *Dracontium*, that is, a temple compounded of *circles* and *avenues*. It was, however, a serpent temple, and *probably* a Dracontium, pursuing a sinuous course, it is supposed, through a distance of *seven miles*! Here, as in all the British temples of the same kind, there were but *two* ranks of stones. These may *now* be traced, at intervals, for nearly two miles. They begin at about half a mile to the south of the village of Shap, in a small field adjoining the Kendal road. This extremity seems to have been the *head* of the Serpent, and is called a *Circle*; but in

§ See Mr. Kempe's paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. XXII.

reality is only a wedge-like area, having the angles at the base rounded off, and the base itself bounded by a slightly curved line; its vertex opening into the parallelithon. Such a figure is as adequate a representation of a serpent's head, as a circle or an oval. At the narrowest part the two rows converge to the width of fifty-nine feet, and in the widest part of this area swell out to the breadth of sixty-eight feet. The curved line at the extremity is formed by six stones, at irregular distances and of different sizes, but generally five or six feet long, and as many wide. None of the stones at this part seem to have been ever erect. From hence the avenue proceeds to Shap, and, crossing the turnpike road, advances in a north-westerly direction, and is said to have terminated at Moor Dovey, near Banton, seven miles from Shap; but at present only about two miles of it can be satisfactorily traced. The largest stone now standing is about eight feet high. It is of considerable girth; and is known by the ridiculous name of the "Guggleby" stone, given to it by a facetious farmer some years ago, to exercise the ingenuity of antiquaries.

I did not observe any great circle corresponding to that of Abury, but there is a circular area called "the Druid's Temple," at Gunnerkeld bottom, about a mile to the north-east of Shap. It is formed of large stones, and might have been connected with the avenue of the parallelithon, and together with it formed a Dracontium; but I had no time for making any accurate observations, and only pronounce the temple to be a Dracontium upon the authority of Stukeley, who had no doubt upon the subject. The question will, I trust, soon be solved, and the opinion of that acute and much undervalued antiquary confirmed.

These Memoranda will serve as an introduction to the noblest of Celtic monuments—the Temple of Carnac in Britany; from which the Dracontia in Britain differ in some respects, but to which they preserve a general analogy, sufficient to point out a kindred religion. The serpentine sinuosities are the same in the principal temples of both countries; but that of Carnac is intersected by two curvilinear areas, neither of which can be called, in

strict propriety, a circle, although one of them is so denominated. Another distinction is still more marked. The British Dracontia have only *two* parallel rows of stones, whereas that of Carnac has *eleven*! But the same concomitant tumuli and cromlechs decorate them all.

I proceed to describe the Dracontium of

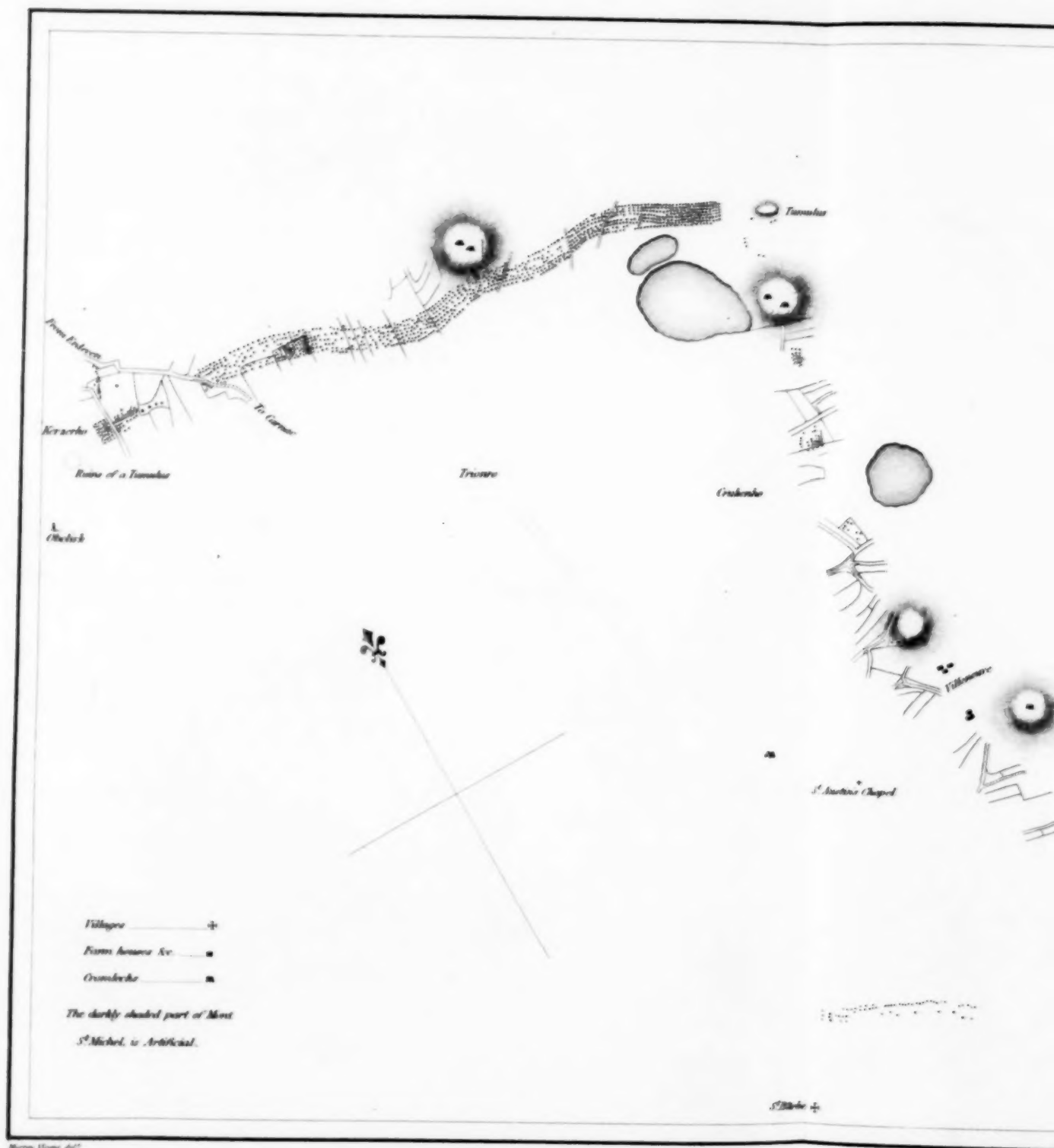
CARNAC.

This great Celtic monument, commonly known as "the stones of Carnac," is *eight miles in length*, commencing at the bourg of Erdeven, passing midway by the villages of Plouharnel and Carnac, and finally lost in an arm of the marine lake of La Trinité, which flows in from the Bay of Quiberon.

The village which gives name to the temple is a bourg, or parochial village, containing perhaps three hundred inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by fishing. It is nine miles from the beautifully situated town of Auray, and about half a mile from the sea. The church, dedicated to St. Cornelius, is a handsome and capacious building with an elegant spire; having a southern portico curiously surmounted by an ornament resembling the bars of an imperial crown. This was carved out of a single pillar of the Dracontium by a common mason.

My first visit to Carnac was in September 1831, in company with General de Penhouët. I could not have had a more enthusiastic or better informed companion. This gentleman, who glories in being a Breton of pure and ancient descent, is deservedly esteemed in his own country as an antiquary of considerable attainments, who has enriched its literature by many ingenious treatises, and among the rest, by a clear and correct account of the general form of the Temple of Carnac. This he pronounces to be a *Dracontium*; and thus retains for his own country the credit of the first discovery. But he does not understand the term "Dracontium" in the same sense in which I have defined it: viz. "*An avenue of the Sun.*"

So far I was fortunate, in meeting with the *only* man in France who could guide me through the mazes of this labyrinth of stones, with intelligence and sympathy. We thought alike as to its figure, though differently as to its dedication. But here my good fortune forsook me. M. de Penhouët was a Royalist, had been a General commanding in this very district against the



L'ISLE AUX MOINES
MORBIHAN.



Plan
of the
DRACONTIUM
of
CARNAC.

Surveyed April. 1832.





L'ISLE AUX MOINES
MORBIHAN.



Plan
of the
DRACONTIUM
of
CARNAC.
Surveyed April. 1832.

Republican forces during the Reign of Terror ; he had moreover commanded the Gen-d'Armerie of Rennes under Charles the Tenth, had resigned his appointment at the dethronement of that monarch, and was consequently marked by the police of Louis Philippe. We were accordingly beset by spies, followed, pursued, interrogated, and annoyed to such an extent that we were glad to make our visit a short one : and having rode through the lines of the temple from Erdeven to Kerlescant, returned to Rennes.

But I had seen too much to be contented without seeing more. Accordingly, in the spring of the present year (1832) I again crossed the Channel, in company with Mr. Murray Vicars, a land-surveyor of Exeter, whose talents require no eulogy beyond the beautiful and correct Plan now before the Society.^h We went determined to complete a survey of the Dracontium, and provided ourselves with all the instruments necessary for the purpose. Our first object was Rennes, where we hoped to be joined by General de Penhouët, that we might profit not only by his experience, but by his knowledge of the local customs and manners. But here we were doomed to meet our first, but happily, our only disappointment. He was very anxious, but quite unable to accompany us, having heard upon good authority, that if he ever ventured into that country again, he would be arrested as a Carlist. We set off, therefore, under the guidance of my previous recollections, not without anxiety, but with a determination to overcome every difficulty by perseverance. One of the greatest of these difficulties, was a limited knowledge of the French, and a total ignorance of the Breton language, which is the only one spoken by the generality of the peasants of the Morbihan. Our first appearance upon the scene was certainly amusing. It was ridiculous to find that the introductory question to a native from whom we required any information, must be "*Parlez vous Français ?*" and no less laughable to see four men measuring with tapes and chains, and a theodolite, when *three languages* were put in requisition to desire the surveyor's man to tighten the chain, or to move to the right or left ! But we soon fell into their ways, and they into ours : and at length, after much toil, but more pleasure, completed the survey.

For our success we were indebted to the kindness of M. Loroy, the Pre-

^h This plan is upon the scale of fifteen inches to a mile, and measures twelve feet in length by four in breadth.

fect of the Morbihan, who received us in the most gentlemanly manner, and countersigned our passports, without which protection we could not have left the high roads; for the whole country was suspected of being ripe for insurrection, in favour of the old government, and many affrays had occurred between the peasants and the military. The indignation with which one of my guides repelled the inference that he was a "*Frenchman*," because he spoke French, was a sensible hint that we were walking upon a volcano.

We reached Carnac on the 19th of April, and commenced our researches on the 21st, the 20th being Good Friday. Mr. Vicars's first station was at a large stone at the head of the temple near Erdeven:¹ and I cannot follow a better course in describing, than that which he adopted in measuring the *Dracontium*.

This stone, which is a beautiful rectangular column, 12 feet high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ square, stands in a field by the side of the road from Erdeven to Carnac, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the former village. It is upright, at the north-eastern extremity of a line of nineteen enormous columns, several of which have fallen. The second, which is down, measures 16 feet 6 inches long, and 6 feet 6 inches wide. The four largest are from 20 to 23 feet in length, and generally 5 feet square at the base. The largest of all, now broken into two pieces, was 17 feet wide and 4 feet thick. This is the fourteenth from the Carnac road. Its fracture was probably intentional; for it does not appear to have been ever erect, and so could not have been broken by falling against the ground or its neighbour. It was probably broken by the first Christian desecrators of the Celtic temples, who made such ignorant and wanton havoc of Pagan sanctuaries in every country. This is certainly a very remarkable stone. Upon the sloping surface is an artificial cavity, having every appearance of being designed to receive the body of a human victim preparatory to sacrifice; but the stone being broken in this part we could not take a sketch of it. There is, however, another stone exactly similar and more distinctly marked and perfect, upon a Rock Altar on the heights on the eastern side of the lake of La Trinité, at a short distance from the path leading from the ferry to Locmariaker. Lying down upon this stone I found that the shoulders were received by a cavity just sufficient to

¹ See the vignette, p. 188.

contain them, while the neck reclining in a narrow trench, was bent over a small ridge, and the head descended into a deeper circular groove beyond it. From the narrow trench which received the neck was chiselled a small channel down the inclined face of the stone. This being on the *left* side of the recumbent victim, was well adapted to carry off the blood which flowed from the jugular vein.

A person lying in these cavities is quite helpless, and in such a position a child may sacrifice the strongest man. No one can doubt the aptitude of such an altar for the immolation of a human victim, whatever may be his scepticism as to the application of it to such a purpose. For my part, I have no hesitation in admitting both its aptitude and application. The religion of the Celtic tribes was essentially homicidal. The Britons burnt their victims in wicker idols, and the Gauls, according to Cæsar, offered both *burnt* and *bloody* sacrifices; Strabo,^k speaking of the Cimbri, a Celtic tribe, gives a terrific account of the murder of their prisoners, and describes with pictorial effect, the chief Druidess *cutting the throats* of the victims one after another, and receiving their trickling blood in basins, and pronouncing omens according to the manner in which the streams flowed!

The sacrificial stone, above described, is different from the ordinary Rock-basins in England; but very like that called "Arthur's bed" at North-hill, in Cornwall, depicted by Borlase, only the latter has no channel from the groove of the throat.

The purpose to which these altars were applied, will furnish a sufficient reason for the destruction of the Rock-basin stone of Erdeven by the first Christians of Britany. The dilapidation of the whole Temple seems, indeed, rather to have been the work of bigotry, than either time or cupidity; of the three destroyers time has done the least. The paucity of the stones between Plouharnel and Carnac may be accounted for by the erection of those villages, and the numberless walls and cottages which intersect the country; but the destruction of the stones of sacrifice, of the cromlechs, and of the superb obelisk at Locmariaker, may be fairly charged to the Saints who delivered (as tradition states) the country from *Serpents*; that is, converted the Ophites to Christianity.

^j Comment. 6, s. 14.

^k vii. 194.

The length of the unbroken line of columns from the first station is 340 feet : after which there is a clear space of 270 feet. We then entered, at an acute angle, a noble group of pillars, which form the commencement of the parallelitha. This spot is called Kerzerho.

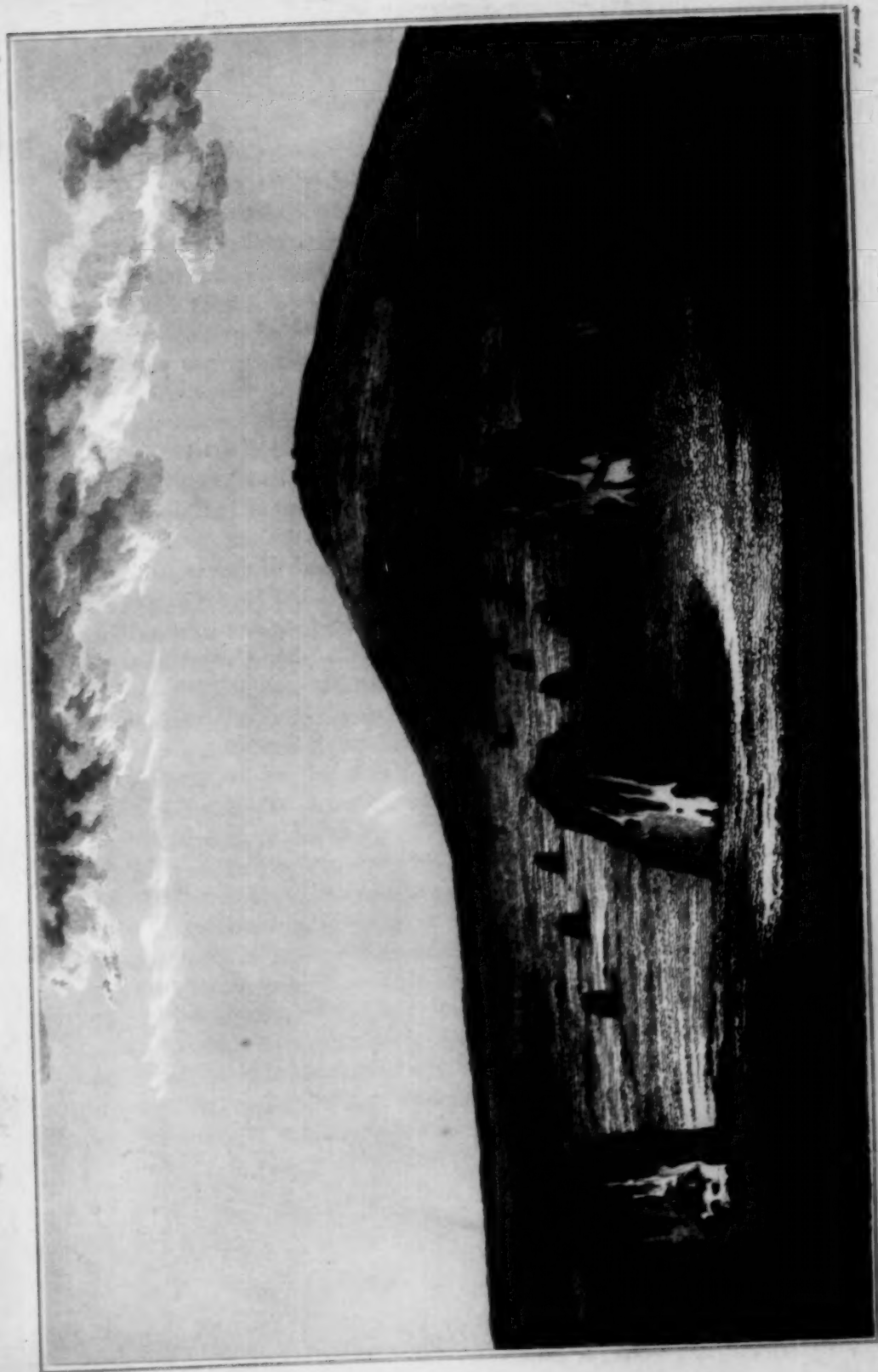
The stones of Kerzerho are, on an average, 15 feet high, and of very different shapes ; but generally about four feet by six on the sides. Very few of them are sunk deep into the ground, and some are even merely set upon their bases. The holes from which several have fallen, are not more than eighteen inches deep.

From Kerzerho the Temple takes an easterly course, and eleven rows of stones, making ten avenues distinctly marked, proceed, almost uninterruptedly, for nearly a mile and a half. The distances between the ranks, as well as between the stones, are very variable ; but the whole width of the Temple is two hundred feet. For about four hundred feet the lines are perfect ; after which they are somewhat broken for a furlong, and intersected by walls evidently built of the same materials.

Shortly after they leave Kerzerho the stones diminish in size, until they dwindle into conical columns three feet high and three feet square at the base. They again increase until they terminate in a group, whose average height is nine feet, and base four feet square.

But four furlongs and a half before they arrive at this point, and six furlongs and a half from Kerzerho, the lines, making a very graceful sweep, pass over the side of a gentle hill which is surmounted by two cromlechs, both of which are now fallen. These cromlechs appear to have stood in a curvilinear inclosure of thin stones placed edgewise, and almost in contact with each other. But there are so many natural rocks upon this eminence that we could not satisfy ourselves of any regular plan. Possibly, there was an area on this spot similar to the curvilinear inclosure at Le Maenac, hereafter described.

The view from these cromlechs is beautiful and impressive. The whole range of the temple from Kerzerho to the Lakes, being a distance of eleven furlongs, is spread under the eye as distinctly and elegantly as if it were traced upon a map. (See Pl. XXI.) The smaller stones to the westward dot the pastures like sheep, while the massy columns of Kerzerho rise above them with a



View West of the Lakes.

Published by the Society of Engravers of London, 1840.

grandeur but little diminished by the distance; for what is lost in space is gained by comparison. The village and church of Erdeven complete the prospect with a delightful relief. To the eastward the avenues, as they descend the hill, present curves as graceful as in ascending; but, on reaching the plain, fall into straight lines, and skirting the margin of a small freshwater lake, terminate abruptly near a hill beyond it. This eminence also was crowned by two cromlechs, but both are now in ruins. To the southward of them is observed in the distance the shadowy spire of Carnac Church, in beautiful contrast with the Mount of St. Michael, which is an artificial tumulus of such vast dimensions as to be seen from every cromlech and almost every important part of the Temple. The fascination of the prospect is completed by the sea, which bounds the horizon on the south. I cannot imagine a scene more interesting. A heathen temple surviving the storms of, at least, two thousand years, retaining for the space of eleven furlongs almost its original unity, and the whole spread out like a picture at the spectator's feet, while each extremity points to a distant Christian church, built, perhaps, out of the ruins of some portion of this once magnificent Temple: a lake below, the sea beyond, barren plains and rocky hills, form a combination of art, nature, and religion, which cannot be regarded by a contemplative mind without feelings of peculiar pleasure. One superstition of the Pagans never fails to assert its influence upon spots like this—the "*Genius loci*" is always ascendant.

At the end of the avenues, as they are lost on the level, is a tumulus of nearly two hundred feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and of a gradual ascent to the height of five or six feet. It was probably higher, but has been reduced by the showers of two thousand years to its present size. This mound lies in the direction of the avenues, and would seem to be an obstacle to the theory of their continuation from Kerzerho to Carnac. So it appeared to my companion at the time of the survey; but the subsequent discovery of a group of stones on the south-eastern side of the adjoining cromlech hill, convinced me that the avenues were continued from this point in a direction almost at a right angle to their previous course. An examination of the Plan of the whole temple inclines me to believe that at this tumulus was a clear quadrangular area, corresponding to the remarkable one

at Kerlescant, beyond Carnac, which I shall describe in its place. At Kerlescant, a similar but larger mound forms the north-eastern side of the area; and I suppose this tumulus to have done the same. A glance upon the Map will shew that these tumuli are similarly situated with respect to the whole Temple; that they occupy the same angles, and are nearly under the same meridian, the tumulus of Kerlescant bearing the same reference to Le Maenac, as that of the Lakes to St. Barbe, the avenues turning at each of these points almost rectangularly to their former course.

Three furlongs from the tumulus of the Lakes, and skirting the eastern side of the cromlech hill, we met, on the south-eastern side of it, with a collection of thirty stones, averaging three or four feet in height, and occupying a length of two hundred feet. They were arranged in rows, and the whole width of the avenues was *exactly the same* as that of the Temple from Kerzerho to the Lakes, namely, two hundred feet. The Dracontium made a sweep round the cromlechs of the lakes, similar to its winding over the first cromlech hill, but on a *different* side of the eminence. It seems, indeed, that each of the alternate bends of the serpent in their course embraced a gentle hill, which was crowned by a double cromlech.

It is a question whether these cromlechs so situated, were sacrificial or sepulchral; but I think the *latter*: for I found several which had the appearance of having been covered by a tumulus. They might have been placed round the temple like the tomb-stones in our own churchyards, and perhaps have originated our custom: while our earthen graves are the Celtic *barrows*.

Advancing in a direct line for the distance of a furlong and one hundred feet, we encountered a second isolated group of stones. They were about fifty in number, and occupied in length of avenues 250 feet: in total breadth, as before, 200 feet. They are generally eight feet high, and three feet six inches square; but their shapes vary. They stand on the eastern side of the farm of Crukenho, where there is one of the most splendid cromlechs, or rather, "*Roches aux Fées*," (called in England Kistvaëns), which we have seen in the Morbihan.

The great table stone is thirteen feet long and eight feet wide; and the chamber within is nearly six feet in height.

The Roches-aux-fées differ from the ordinary cromlech in having several contiguous stones for the support of their tables, while the cromlech has seldom more than *three*; or, when more, not contiguous. They also cover a considerably larger piece of ground, having sometimes a series of four, five, or six tabular stones upon the top, and making a sepulchral chamber, and sometimes *two*, of great dimensions. In this Paper I use the word cromlech *generally*, as including all sepulchral monuments of the dolmen or *tabular* order. I use the term also as an English Antiquary, for the French call *cromlechs* what we should describe as *Circles*.

From Crukenho we advanced still in a south-east direction, and after a space of one furlong four chains, discovered several stones scattered over a field of three hundred feet in length. Only eight of these are laid down in the Plan as falling under the line of the survey.

After another vacant space of one furlong, six chains, we found ourselves upon a very remarkable bed of rocks, which had the appearance of having been a quarry for the *Dracontium*. Some large stones were lying loose upon its surface, as if they had been prepared but never erected. This led us to suppose that the temple had not been completed according to its original design, which, considering its vast extent, is not improbable. It also furnished a refutation of a popular error which prevails not only in Britany, but every where wherever such monuments are known; namely, that "there are no stones in the country for many miles round like those of which the temple is built." So far is this from being the fact in regard to the *Dracontium* of Carnac, that the avenues seem designedly carried over beds of rock to facilitate the labour of the erection. We always found the *largest* stones either raised upon, or within a short distance from, the rock out of which they had been hewn. The wonder of Carnac is sufficiently great without placing it beyond the pale of credibility.

When we left this bed of rocks a disheartening vacancy of six furlongs lay before us, unless, as is not impossible, we may have deviated from the line of the temple, and so overlooked a few scattered stones. But here the cottages and farms were more numerous, and many walls intersected the country, which had been probably built out of the ruins of the temple, *sup-*

posing that the rows had been *completed*, which is a fact upon which I have some doubts.

At the end of six furlongs we arrived at a mill called Le vieux Moulin, more perhaps from the materials of which it was built, than from the antiquity of its erection. It was standing near three very beautiful stones. One side stone is fifteen feet long, the one in the centre twelve feet high and six feet square: that on the other side ten feet by eight. There are six smaller stones at about 270 feet beyond these, evidently forming a portion of the original temple.

From Le vieux Moulin we saw to the westward a very fine group of columns, which seemed to be in a line with the stones at the mill. These, upon examination, proved to be the parallelithon near St. Barbe; and its position caused, and still causes a great difficulty in my mind, the doubt being whether this was the commencement of a secondary temple, like the duplicate parallelitha of Dartmoor, or whether it was only a continuation of the great temple. Unfortunately we did not survey the ground to the west of the old mill, by St. Austin's chapel, intending to do so after we had laid down the parts of the Dracontium already ascertained. But when this task was completed, there was no time remaining for the other.

I am of opinion that, had we taken a *westerly* instead of an *easterly* course from the bed of rocks, we *might* have found that the lines passing under the cromlech near St. Austin, entered the parallelithon of St. Barbe at almost a right angle, and from thence took an easterly direction until they fell into the group at Le vieux Moulin.¹

The distance from the bed of rocks to St. Barbe (six furlongs) is the same as to Le vieux Moulin, which is three furlongs to the east of the extremity of the St. Barbe avenues.

The length of the St. Barbe portion of the temple now remaining is two and a half furlongs; and it lies nearly east and west.

The smallest stone at the extremity of this group is seven feet and a half high, the largest seventeen feet long and fifteen feet wide. The average

¹ Mr. Vicars, in subsequently walking over this space, did not discover any stones. I leave the question therefore, in the same obscurity as I found it, but the bias of my mind inclines to the opinion of a *single* Dracontium.

height of the remaining stones is five or six feet ; and the average breadth of the whole temple two hundred feet, the same as from Kerzerho.

From the old mill we advanced four furlongs and a half in a south-easterly direction towards Carnac, and opposite the ruined chapel of La Plasquere found upon a rocky ground three cubical stones which had evidently belonged to the great temple. They were about four feet high.

Here we were again compelled to toil over a vacant space of nearly seven furlongs, and less sanguine investigators might have given up the search. But we had passed over the ground before from the opposite direction, and knew that our labours would not be in vain. We recovered the *Dracontium* in an uncultivated field behind the chateau of Kergonant, whose massy and extensive walls had perhaps swallowed up a vast portion of the stones between Le Maenac and La Plasquere. The neighbouring villages of Plouharnel and Carnac, both considerable bourgs, and a number of intermediate cottages, together with the *countless* walls which intersect the intervening country, are sufficient reasons for the vacuity between St. Barbe and Le Maenac. Wherever the stones were small (which they always are in *alternate* parts of the temple), they have been carried away for building.

M. Jaunay, of the Hotel en Bas at Auray, informed me, that within his recollection he thinks that from 1500 to 2000 must have been removed between Carnac and St. Barbe. The depredations were so great at one time that the Government found it necessary to interfere, and "a Conservator of the Antiquities of the Morbihan" was in consequence appointed. My friend M. de Penhouët held this office for some time. The temple is *now*, I trust, better guarded by the interest which the villagers take in it, having found that it is likely to attract more strangers and thus indirectly promote their prosperity.

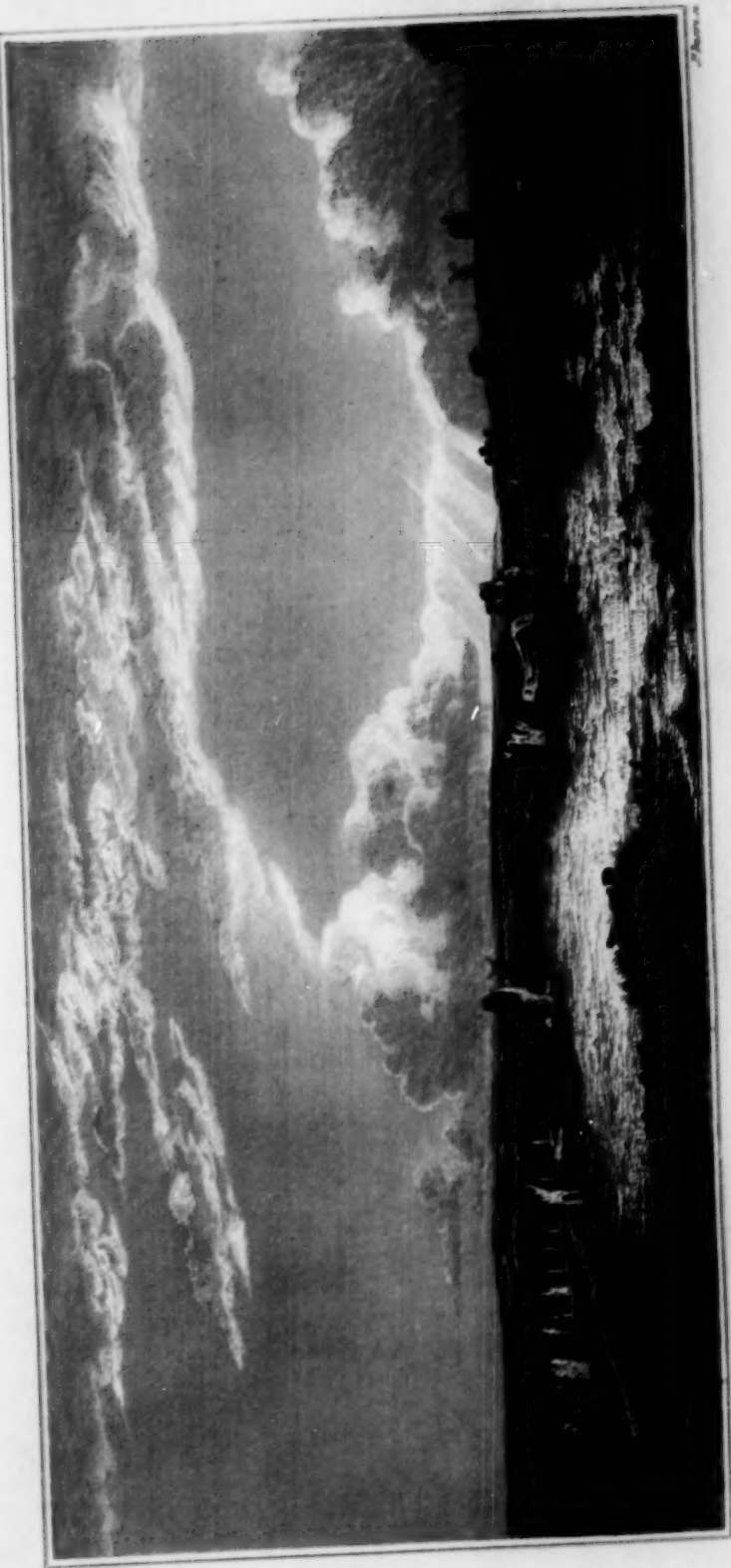
The uncultivated field, behind the large ruined chateau of Kergonant, contains several indications of the *Dracontium* in scattered fragments of wilfully destroyed stones. Among these, however, are three which may be classed with the largest of the temple. The first, which is still upright, is sixteen feet high, and sixteen feet six inches in circumference. The second also upright, ten feet high, and thirteen feet in girth. The third, which has been overthrown, preparatory to its destruction, is of the same dimensions.

Passing from hence through a plantation of firs, we obtain a view of the magnificent group of Le Maenac; they are two furlongs and a half distant from the plantation pillars. But at seven chains before we entered the curvilinear area of Le Maenac, we found three large stones lying flat upon a marshy field. The position of these stones determine the angle at which the avenues entered Le Maenac. It is nearly a right angle.

Le Maenac is, indeed, a memorable spot! remarkable not only for the number and size of its columns, but also for a curvilinear area whose figure it would have been very difficult to determine, had we not fortunately seen an exactly similar, but more perfect, inclosure in a temple in the Ile aux Moines. This temple was once a *Dracontium*, extending, as the accompanying Drawing will shew, for at least a mile before it enters the grand area, and perhaps it may have extended as far beyond it. At its southern extremity is a large oblong tumulus about two hundred feet in length, terminated by a superb kistvaen or roche-aux-fées, of the same kind, but more beautiful than that of Crukenho. The table, which is *fifteen* feet long, *ten* wide, and *four* thick, is supported by nine upright stones, the highest part of the dolmen being eight feet six inches from the ground. The approach to the chamber is covered by three slabs which are supported upon six pillars. The whole is a most beautiful specimen of the dolmen, inferior only to one at Locmariaker. This extremity of the temple of the Ile aux Moines, is called *Penab*, which is a very remarkable name; for it is given to a place where there is not a single house, and means "*the head of Ab*;" *Ab*, or *Aub*, being the name of the *Serpent acuity* of the Ophites, as Bryant has satisfactorily proved.

From *Penab* a parallelithon was formerly traceable in the direction of the island from south to north; but when we saw it there were very few stones remaining; sufficient, however, to convince me of the nature of the temple.

The curvilinear inclosure to which they led, is a *bell-shaped* figure, 330 feet at the base, and 206 in perpendicular altitude. The stones, of which some are eight or nine feet high and four or five broad, are *thin*, and present their *flat* surfaces to the area, being almost in contact at their edges, and forming a wall round the inclosure. Exactly similar is the area of Le Mae-



New East of Le Maenac.

Published by the Library of Anthropology of London, 17, Regent Street.



St. Michael

Front Row at Le Maenac

Mont St. Michael

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1875

Le Maenac

nac. The stones which compose the periphery are thin and flat, generally five or six feet high, six feet broad, and two feet thick. They present their flat surfaces to the inclosure, and have been nearly contiguous to each other. The base of this campanular area is the front line of the rows of the parallelithon, which at this part is of the most imposing grandeur. But this line of columns not being sufficient to meet the periphery, the vacancy on each side is supplied by a straight line of contiguous flat stones of the same kind as those in the curve. The front of the parallelithon is 350 feet. The complementary flat stones, when perfect, extended one hundred feet on each side of it, making the whole line 550 feet long. The southern side is entire; but the whole northern portion of the periphery, as well as the complementary line of one hundred feet, is destroyed, having been probably used for the erection of the cottages which stand in the area. What could have been the meaning of this unusual figure? That there was something sacred attached to it is probable from several of the enormous columns of the parallelithon, which form its base, being of the same *bell-shape* as the area. The figure is something like that of the *horse-shoe*, to which superstition has attached such a talismanic influence against evil spirits; and it is probable that, if the charm of "the horse-shoe" resided in its *shape* rather than in any supposed inherent quality, it may have been revered as a hierogram of the Ophite sanctuary, and stamped upon thresholds in the same manner as the sign of the cross is superstitiously abused by the ignorant. It is a question with village sages which is the most potent charm against witchcraft, the cross or the horse-shoe, the hierogram of the Christian, or of the Pagan sanctuary. The figure of a *horse-shoe* is also observed at Stonehenge. The stones of Le Maenac are among the finest of the temple. They average seventeen feet high and twenty feet in circumference. We measured only a few, for the toil would have been endless; and we had a more important matter in hand, namely, to ascertain the course of the *Dracontium*. The best description of them, perhaps, is that they are mostly *longer*, and *wider*, and *thicker*, than the average columns of Stonehenge.

The village of Carnac is about five furlongs to the south of Le Maenac. And four furlongs to the south-east is Mount St. Michael, which bears the

same relation to the temple of Carnac as the conical hill of Silbury to the Dracontium of Abury.

The Mount of St. Michael is not all artificial; but a natural hillock has been raised by the hand of man to a commanding height, so great as to be seen for many miles. It was evidently once *conical*; but has been truncated to support a chapel, dedicated to the Archangel Michael, from whom the mount receives its name. The *artificial* portion of the hill now remaining is one hundred yards long, twenty yards wide, and twelve yards high. The dedication of this mount and chapel is singularly illustrative of the dedication of the temple below.

Most of the legends of the saints who evangelized Britany describe them as having destroyed either a *great dragon*, or a colony of *serpents*, which had infested the country before their arrival. St. Cado, St. Maudet, and a St. Paul, are all entitled to this honour: St. Cado was the victor over the serpents of Carnac. All these legends allude to the destruction of some Dracontium, which was "the Great Dragon," and the conversion or suppression of the priesthood of Bel, who were the "serpents."

Hence the numerous churches and chapels dedicated to St. Michael, the divine destroyer of the spiritual Serpent; and hence the appropriation of the most sacred hills of the Ophite deity to the Christian archangel: who, from his sanctuary upon the eminence, can look down triumphantly upon the ruined fane of his great enemy, and in the defaced image of the Serpent which covers the plains, be gratified by a perpetual memorial of his having "bruised the SERPENT's head."

Such was the idea of the Christians who built upon the Ophite cones the chapels of the archangel. M. Mahé, a French writer on the antiquities of the Morbihan, remarks the number of these chapels; and is at a loss to imagine the reason why St. Michael should be always seated upon the summit of a cone. He makes a conjecture, which, as far as it goes, is doubtless true;—that the first Christians of Britany, perceiving the veneration with which the half-converted people regarded these sacred hills, built churches and chapels upon their summits, to turn the devotional feelings of the suppliants into a right channel, and so wean them gradually from all their old superstitions. But why dedicate these hills to St. *Michael* more than to any

other saint? The answer has been given: because St. Michael destroyed the spiritual dragon, whose earthly image was as signally overthrown by the evangelizers of Britany.

Mount St. Michael is seen from almost every part of the temple—at least from all the chief cromlech hills. And it is not improbable that upon this eminence was kindled the sacred fire which represented the participation of the Solar deity in the rites of the Ophite God. Thus the analogous Silbury, which has been interpreted to mean, "*The hill of the Sun*," is seen from all the principal parts of the Dracontium of Abury. Upon hills of this figure the Persian Magi kept up their perpetual flame: the cone being peculiarly sacred to the Sun, in every part of the world.

It is possible, perhaps *probable*, that Mount St. Michael, in connection with its Dracontium, may have given name to the village of Carnac.

Hak, or *Ak*, in the old Breton language, as well as in the old Persian,^m and ancient British,ⁿ is said to have signified "a *serpent*." May not "*Carnac*," then, be compounded of *Cairn-hak*, "the Serpent's hill"? and *Le-Maen-ac* imply "the stones of the Serpent"? But these are conjectures. I return to facts.

From Le Maenac the avenues take a north-easterly direction, occasionally swerving to the north and south, and exhibiting all the sinuosities of a snake as he moves along the ground. The average width of the temple is 350 feet from Le Maenac to Kerlescant. The eleven rows are distinctly traceable for nearly five furlongs, of which the first is studded by stones of a considerable size; after which they gradually diminish to the minimum of three feet; and again swell to the dimensions of fifteen feet by eighteen in circumference. This is at Kermario. The view in the plate is taken from the middle of the curvilinear area. But after the first five furlongs from Le Maenac there is a break of two furlongs, in which the stones are only dotted here and there; just enough to mark the continuation. A portion of two of the rows is ingeniously converted into walls for inclosures by filling up the intervals of the pillars; a contrivance which is resorted to

^m Col. Tod, *Rajasthan*, i. 536.

ⁿ Stukeley, *Abury*, 32.

more than once during the course of the temple. At half a mile from Le Maenac the road from Carnac to Auray crosses the avenues.

The columns of Kermario, which is seven furlongs from Le Maenac, are extremely picturesque; and the view of the lines as they descend the declivity, and again ascend to the mill beyond Vitriviant, is remarkably pleasing. The dimensions of the stones gradually lessen until they become scarcely two feet high. They again increase in size until they are lost in a wood six furlongs beyond Kermario, having traversed a ravine in unbroken order.

The Kermario group is altogether more imposing than even that of Le Maenac, though some stones at the latter place may be larger. The beauty of Le Maenac is impaired by the level ground upon which the columns stand: while those of Kermario, standing upon an eminence, are displayed to the greatest advantage. They are also, in a given space, more uniform than their rivals, and perhaps the aggregate mass within a square of 350 feet, may also be greater at Kermario.

The Cromlech marked in the Map to the south-east of this group, has been a very large one, but is in ruins.

As Kermario may be said to rival Le Maenac, so the mill near Vitriviant competes with the first double cromlech hill, nearest to Kerzerho, for the view which it commands of the parallelitha. These two are certainly the best stations for the painter who would desire to give an accurate idea of the effect of the temple. Nothing can be more beautiful, or more evident, than the *sinuous* course of the Dracontium when seen from these points. The intention of the builders is placed beyond a doubt, when we see that, instead of following the more simple and more easy order of *right lines*, they deviate into continual curvatures, establishing thereby the opinion, that they *designed* to represent the sinuosities of a moving serpent.

At six furlongs beyond Kermario the parallelitha are lost in a wood: but within a furlong and three chains we enter the *sanctuary of Kerlescant*, which is one of the most remarkable parts of the temple. This is a clear area resembling a square with its corners so rounded off as to appear, in the eyes of an inexperienced person, to be a *circle*. Actual measurement alone convinced me that it was a square. So deceptive is its outline, that the



Row near Kerdicant.

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spot is called *Kerlescant*, which means "the *place* of the *Circle*;" and after all, I think it probable that it might have been intended to represent this figure.

The sides of this area average 250 feet. The southern and western have been formed of broad thin stones, like those of the "Bell" at Le Maenac; and like them appear to have been contiguous. The eastern side is formed by the front line of the eleven rows of the Dracontium, which again resume their magnificent order. The northern extremity is bounded by an oblong tumulus three hundred feet long and one hundred feet wide. The other three sides also stand upon a ridge, or perhaps rather the area between them was excavated to the depth of three or four feet.

The mound on the northern side is similar to, but larger than that at the corresponding angle of the Dracontium on the level near the lakes.

It is difficult to determine at what point the avenues entered Kerlescant. The western, as the most probable, has been assumed in the imaginary outline of the Plan.

If Kerlescant were a perfect circle, or even if it was intended to be a circle, the figure of the Dracontium, *in this part*, would approximate to the common Ophite hierogram as delineated in Abury.

That this sacred figure was known to the ancient worshippers of the Ophite deity in this vicinity may be inferred from the existence of a very curious custom still observed at Erdeven. At an annual festival, held on the day of the Carnival, the villagers unite in a general *dance*, which by its figure *describes accurately the Ophite hierogram of the Circle and Serpent*. The dancers commence in a circle, and having performed a few revolutions, wheel off to the right and left, in the same manner as their temple recedes from Kerlescant.

They call this dance, *par excellence*, "LE BAL."

Now this word may mean nothing more than the common French word "*bal*,"—a public dancing. But it is *possible* that it may be *the original sacred dance of BAAL*, from whom it may take its name, which in process of time, and through change of religions and manners, became used more generally to signify a *Ball*, in the present acceptation of the word. *Dancing*

was one of the most ordinary and most important of the idolatrous rites in all heathen religions: and the *circular dance* was preferred to all others.

A tradition of this *circular* dancing peeps through the fables which we before noticed as common respecting the Druidical temples in England, namely, that the stones were human beings petrified in the midst of a *dance*. Now all the temples to which such superstitions are attached are *circular*:— May not then the *circular dance*, similar to that practised at Erdeven, have been the ordinary accompaniment of an Ophite festival?^m

From Kerlescant the avenues proceed in straight lines of great beauty. The course is now very nearly due east. The breadth of the Temple is still 350 feet, the same as from Le Maenac to Kerlescant. But for the first 300 feet after it leaves the area, it is flanked by two *additional* rows. As long as it is supported by these the breadth is 450 feet, being the greatest width of the parallelitha throughout their course. The columns of Kerlescant are of the same gigantic dimensions as those at the other principal parts of the Temple. They are generally fifteen feet high, and sixteen feet in circumference.

Beyond Kerlescant the Dracontium continues for three furlongs, and may be easily traced through a large farm which intersects it, many of its stones being built into the walls of the fields and orchards. But shortly after they have passed the farm they appear less frequent, and at length are scarcely to be distinguished from the gate-posts, &c. erected by the hands of the modern farmer. They may be traced, however, at intervals, up to the Chateau du Lac, which is at the distance of half a mile from the farm of Kerlescant. We even saw some very suspicious looking stones in the pastures and grounds of the chateau, to the very margin of the lake of La Trinité; but we did not think it necessary to lay down their positions, having already followed the lines *seven miles and a half*! The difficulties of trespassing upon private property were too serious to be incurred upon a mere question of curiosity.

Nevertheless I am convinced that the Temple extended *at least* as far as the chateau, and possibly beyond it. For the inlet of La Trinité is very

^m The circles in Cornwall are called "*dawns-maen*," i. e. "*dance stones*," Borlase, 194.

narrow at this point, and may have been forced by high tides and storms since the erection of the Dracontium. I cannot help thinking that *originally* the Temple reached to Locmariaker, which is three miles beyond the Chateau du Lac. The reasons for this hypothesis are the following:

1. That Locmariaker was the capital town of the district, if not the chief city of the Veneti. Consequently we find at this place some of the most interesting works of the ancient Bretons to be seen in the Morbihan. According to M. Mahé there are at least *thirty* objects of antiquity in this small area, which remind us of the once great people who possessed Britany. The most remarkable are two long tumuli inclosing kistvaens of considerable dimensions; a cromlech of singular size and beauty, charged with hieroglyphics of an unique character; and two obelisks, each carved out of a single stone, of which one is sixty-three feet in length, and fourteen feet diameter at the thickest part.

These monuments in the immediate vicinity of the capital would have been a suitable beginning or termination to the Temple.

2. From Erdeven to Kerlescant the course of the Dracontium is marked by a line of cromlechs on rising ground, over the sides of which the avenues appear to have passed in alternation. A similar appearance is presented to the eye on the eastern side of the lake of La Trinité, where a line of cromlechs crowns the hills as far as Locmariaker.

I cannot say that in traversing this district we met with any portion of the Dracontium. One beautiful column, about twelve feet high and four feet square, is standing on *low* ground, about a mile from the supposed termination; but this was the only indication (a feeble one I admit) of the continuation of the Temple beyond the Chateau du Lac. Had the lines been continued, I conceive that this column would have fallen within them. A gentleman at Carnac informed me that the avenues might be traced on the eastern side of the lake, but we could not find them. It is possible, nay probable, that, in crossing and re-crossing the track, we may have walked over denuded grounds upon which the Temple might have rested a thousand years ago: but in so difficult a country nothing is more easy than to spend days in unprofitable research. Time did not suffice to persist in the pursuit, which I reluctantly abandoned, to be resumed at another opportu-

nity, or by another adventurer who may be more fortunate. If the problem can, by any means, be satisfactorily solved, I shall not regret that these hints have led to its solution, although by another person. In the fraternity of letters there should be no selfishness, and in the communication of knowledge no reserve. But whoever undertakes the task should, if possible, make himself conversant with the Breton language, which will obviate many difficulties and disappointments. For, "*I do not understand Gaelic*," is a common reply in the mouth of a Breton, as "*I do not understand Saxon*," in that of a Welshman. In default of the *Breton* language the *Welsh* may be found useful.

The conjecture respecting the continuation of the Temple to Locmariaker will apply to its extension in the western direction, beyond Erdeven, to *Belz*. *Belz* and Locmariaker were evidently the most important places in this district. The latter was, perhaps, the capital of the nation, certainly the chief town of the district, the former the principal seat of its religion.

The Celtic tribes are known to have been devoted to the worship of the god *BEL*; and the people of Britany were a considerable portion of the Celtic family. They still call a *priest*, a "*Belech*," which may be the same as the Balak of Scripture, and signify *Bel-ak*, i. e. "*Bel the Dragon*." *Bel* and the Dragon are uniformly coupled together; and the priest of the Ophite religion as uniformly assumed *the name of his god*. Thus the priest or priestess of the Syrian Serpent god *OUB* was also called *Oub*,ⁿ from which is derived the African *Obeah*, man or woman, who invoked *OBI*: the priestess of *PythoN* is *Pythia*; the Druid says, in enumerating his titles,^o

"I am a Druid; I am an Architect; I am a Prophet; I am a *Serpent*."

The priest of the Egyptian Cneph was *Incuphis*; and the examples may be multiplied. Consistently with this universal custom of the Ophite religion, we have in Britany the priest of "*Bel the Dragon*," called *Belech*; which name has been retained, among other reliques of Ophiolatreaia, in the Christianity of the country.

The chief oracle of *Bel* was in the parish of *Belz* above mentioned; which

ⁿ Leviticus, xx. 27. Deut. xviii. 11.

^o Taliessin, translated by Davies. Myth. of the Druids, Appendix, 6.

word seems to be an abbreviation from the Roman *Belus*; for it is as frequently written Bels. It was in this parish that St. Cado landed when he expelled the *Serpents* from the country; and here is a sacred spot which tradition states to have been endowed by him with the power of working miracles. It is a space of about three feet in length and two in width, and covered in by four stones, two at the sides, one at the back, and one over the top, leaving the remaining side open. Over this is built a chapel dedicated to St. Cado.

This chapel is much frequented by the devout peasants of the Morbihan, who, piously thrusting their heads into the above hole, as surely expect to be cured of *deafness* as the most superstitious suppliant of Bel, by a similar application of his ear to the sacred corner, may be supposed to have expected the oracular response—for upon this spot, probably, was the oracle of BEL.

The guide, who conducted M. de Penhouët and myself from Landevan, was an implicit believer in the miraculous properties of the hole, and (what struck us as possibly a remnant of the old superstition) declared, upon putting in his head, that *he heard a sound*. I made the same experiment, but cannot say that I was similarly favoured.

Belz being the chief seat of the worship of the Dragon god in this part of the country, it is not improbable that from this point the Temple may have been designed to extend to Locmariaker, the capital town of the district. But, beyond a beautiful Roche-aux-Fées and some scattered cromlechs, I did not perceive any indications of a Dracontium. The opinion which I have advanced respecting the probable continuation of the Temple from Erdeven to Belz must be therefore considered as purely conjectural. There are some arguments for, and some against; I leave them for the consideration of the next visitant. Of one thing, however, I am assured:—that the Temple of Carnac (whether eight miles in length, as we have traced it, or *thirteen*, as I have imagined it by the above conjectures), was truly a *Dracontium consecrated to the god BEL*.

I do not maintain, with M. de Penhouët, that this is the *very* "Dragon of the Hesperides," so celebrated in ancient Mythology, although conjectures less plausible have been admitted; but I believe it to be, at least, as exten-

sive and wonderful as the two great Pythons of antiquity, that of Delphi, and that of Æolia. If the "ponere totum" be the criterion, Abury might have been more elegant and unique; but in grandeur and interest it must yield to Carnac.

There are other similar parallelitha in the Morbihan on a much smaller scale. But as I have not explored these personally, I will not bring them forward as illustrations. Neither will I argue that *the avenues of Sphinxes*, which leads to the Temple of KARNAC in Egypt, was formed of a rude parallelithon of rough stones, like those of Carnac in Britany, and afterwards carved into the heads of these classical monsters; although even this fact is not impossible; for I am persuaded that *all columnar avenues* were originally suggested by the parallelitha of the Dracontia, which so generally covered the face of Greece, Asia Minor, and, in still more remote ages, perhaps of Egypt itself.

The traditions of the Breton peasantry respecting the erection of their Carnac are, as usual in such cases, of a marvellous kind. Some believe that the stones which compose the Temple were a heathen army which pursued St. Cornelius, the converted centurion, because he had renounced Paganism; and, having hemmed him in between their swords and the sea, compelled him to have recourse to his weapon of prayer. He appealed to it so successfully, that they were all petrified in their ranks! Others imagine that certain supernatural dwarfs, desirous of evincing their strength, and of astonishing the puny race of mortals among whom they lived, carried these stones in their arms from the quarries, and raised them as they stand, in a single night. The dwarfs who performed this celebrated feat are still supposed to reside, each in the stone which he carried! Such are the opinions of the peasants.

The philosophers are less superstitious, but more ardent for the glory of their country. One of them accordingly maintains with much gravity, that *Julius Cæsar* (for no meaner personage would be worthy of their arms) being defeated by the Veneti, and flying to his ships, erected these columns in military array to deceive the pursuing enemy; and under cover of the stratagem made his escape. Another tells us, that the Veneti themselves erected them, to intimidate the Romans, who were hovering on the coast

with their fleet. These philosophers never dreamed that the whole population of the Morbihan, with all the Roman army, would hardly have sufficed to build such a temple in a dozen years!

More sensible persons believe the parallelitha to represent the Zodiac, of which the ancient *eleven* signs are represented by the eleven rows.

But General de Penhouët alone, having seen Sir Richard Colt Hoare's description of Abury, conceived the idea that the Temple of Carnac was a *Dracontium*. He traced it in its material parts, and satisfied himself of the truth of his conjecture: but he did not lay down the real figure by actual measurement, which has never been done until now, except, I believe, by M. Sauvagère, an officer of Engineers in the French army, whose plan, if he made one, I have never seen. I have read his treatise, which is unpretending, and throws no new light upon the subject. I coincide with General de Penhouët as to the *figure* of the Temple, but do not agree with him in imagining that the aggregate of stones represented the Zodiac, and the single stones the separate stars in the constellations. I believe the Temple to be purely a *Dracontium*; a sanctuary consecrated to the Ophite worship.

M. Mahé, the latest writer on the antiquities of the Morbihan, who is certainly a man of great classical acquirements, seems to admit that the Temple was druidical; but ridicules the notion of its being a *Dracontium*. He argues that the builders were worshippers of *stones*, and erected those of Carnac, as they did many others, for the purposes of worship.

That the Temple of Carnac is a *Serpent Temple* is proved from its *sinuosities*, which are evidently *designed*, and not *accidental*. In many places the ground is so level that it might have been easily carried on in a straight line, had right lines only been required. But even in the levels, the deviations are frequent; and in other places hills are ascended which not only might have been avoided, but actually *lie out of the course*.

The *alternating* sizes of the groups of stones is another argument in favour of its being intended to represent a serpent as he moves along the ground: the rising and falling of whose muscles are ingeniously described by the large and small stones, which are generally *uniform* in given spaces. Thus, at Kerzerho, the columns average fifteen feet, and, gradually diminishing to four or three, again swell into the average of nine feet at the lakes. At

Crukenho they are only about eight feet high, and gradually decrease until they are lost. They are large at St. Barbe, diminish, vanish, and again resume at the Old Mill their original average of fifteen feet. They decrease again to four feet opposite La Plasquere, but at the plantation of Kergonant they are sixteen feet and a half. Again disappearing, they again reappear at Le Maenac, where they attain their greatest *average* height of seventeen feet. From this point to Kermario they pass through all the gradations even to three and two feet; but at Kermario average as at first fifteen feet. The declension to the Mill of Vitriviant is gradual, and the increase in size as gradually attained until at Kerlescant we once more recognize the giants of Kermario, Le Maenac, and Kerzerho. From this point they diminish until they seem to disappear in the walls and hedges beyond the farm; and are all but lost when their remembrance is recalled by the small scattered stones in the grounds of the Chateau. In this opinion I am anticipated by Mr. Logan, to whose account of Carnac, in the 22d volume of the *Archaeologia*, I beg to refer. The width of the avenues varies much, and the number of the stones is so great, that we neither attempted to measure the one nor count the other, except as they fell into the line of the survey. Mr. Logan has, however, given the dimensions of the avenues near the Auray roads, as follows. The first avenue measures 12 feet; the second, 24 feet; the third, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the fourth, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the fifth, 30 feet; the sixth, 60 feet; the seventh, 36 feet; the eighth, 36 feet; the ninth, $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the tenth, 36 feet. The total width of the avenues thus amounts to $301\frac{1}{2}$ feet. If to this we add the average breadth of the stones, which may be set down at three feet, the whole width of the Temple at the Auray road will be $334\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Mr. Vicars's plan has taken the *average* width of the whole Temple, which from Kerzerho to St. Barbe is 200 feet, and from Le Maenac to the end 350.

The number of the stones has been variously estimated: but I think the computation of M. Sauvagère, the engineer, who looked at them with a soldier's eye, is likely to be the most correct. With his opinion, therefore, I shall be satisfied. He estimates the number between Le Maenac and the farm of Kerlescant to be four thousand. The distance is two miles and a quarter. Upon the supposition that the stones were as uniformly disposed

in the other parts of the Temple, the whole would amount to more than *ten thousand, two hundred!* But, making every allowance for variations, we may, I think, safely set them down as *ten thousand*.

In laying this paper before the Society of Antiquaries I do not pretend to be the only Englishman who has written on Carnac. The Rev. J. Eden, of Bristol, has visited the spot, and taken several faithful sketches of the Temple. He has also written an account of his visit, which he presented to a literary society in Bristol. Had his account, or Mr. Logan's, assumed the character of a *survey*, the present paper would have been unnecessary; for, from the known talents of these gentlemen, I am persuaded that they would have left nothing to be done by another.

Of the French treatises upon this subject, there is but one worthy of attention, that of M. de Penhouët, in his "*Archéologie Armoricaïne*." But even this is too short and too general.^p Its ingenuity only makes us regret its want of method. The sketches by Cambry, in his "*Monumens Celtiques*," give a fair bird's eye view of the *effect* of the stones of Le Maenac; but beyond this are good for nothing. The perspective is ridiculous, and the exaggerations unpardonable. But we cannot be angry with an author who, writing professedly for "the glory of France" and in depreciation of England, pays the following just compliment to our national taste: "*Si le monument de Carnac avoit existé pres de Londres, combien de fois on l'eût fait graver! comme il eût été célébré par les poètes de l'Angleterre! comme on eût forcé les nations à respecter ce temple métropolitain de la Celtique!*" The Temple of Carnac *is* now surveyed, and its plan published by Englishmen.

In the accompanying plan of the Dracontium of Carnac the classical scholar will find many things to amuse, if not to instruct him. He will be enabled to read with interest many passages in Grecian and Roman authors,

^p Since writing the above, I have been favoured by M. de Penhouët with a copy of his Paper on Ophiolatris, lately read before the Academy of Nantes. He corroborates my opinion respecting the Dracontium of Carnac, by fresh arguments on the adoration of the Serpent in Britany.

from which he may have hitherto turned with a smile. He will discover with Stukeley, Bryant, and Faber, that the Python of Delphi, and the Dragon of Colchos, were not fabulous but real monsters, neither serpents nor dragons, but *serpent-temples* and *dracontia*; and, vast as they were, that they probably fell short of the dimensions of "the Dragon of the Hesperides," the Dracontium of Carnac. Even the Æolian Python, which Medea passed in her flight from Attica to Colchis, as described by Ovid, Met. vii.357,

*Æoliam Pitanein levâ de parte reliquit,
Factaque de saxo longi simulachra Draconis,*

and which so beautifully harmonizes with Abury or Carnac, was probably inferior in extent to the latter.

The fable of Cadmus "*sowing serpent's teeth*" will again become intelligible, when the scholar has surveyed the parallelitha of a Dracontium, whose pillars when arranged with care are literally *in the order of teeth*, single and upright, and of equal altitudes and at equal distances in given points.

In the same catalogue may be classed the enormous dragons covering acres of territory, mentioned by Iphicrates, Strabo, Maximus Tyrius, and Poridonius; and of which Bryant shrewdly remarks, that "they could have been only ruins of Ophite Temples enigmatically represented to excite admiration;" being uniformly measured by *land measures*.

Another theory results from the discoveries of Stukeley. But as this has never yet been advanced in print, I propose it with caution; for, if wrong, I am open to conviction. The theory is,¹ that the early Grecian architects in constructing their *columnar* temples borrowed the *idea* from the Dracontia, which at that time were scattered over their own and the neighbouring countries. As illustrations of this theory we may bring forward the Temples of the Sun at Palmyra and Geraza, which were both Dracontia, if by this term is signified "avenues of the Sun." Their columns, *which supported nothing*, appear to have been substituted for the ruder pillars of more ancient temples. Those of Palmyra particularly illustrate the theory from their *sinuous* course; while the Temple of Geraza is a counterpart of the Dracontium of Callernish in the Island of Lewis.

¹ This theory was first suggested to me by my friend P. C. Delagarde, esq. of Exeter.

It is extremely probable that the second step in templar architecture was to carve and polish the columns already existing in a rude state ; and the third step was to remove them altogether, and substitute others of a more finished form. Hence the earliest buildings in Greece, after the Cyclopean, were *columnar*, a taste which prevailed to the last days of her glory.

The Romans, who were always imitators of the Greeks, soon borrowed the style ; and their most admired buildings were *columnar* with the intervals filled up by masonry.

These notions may seem fanciful ; but I am contented to adopt them until an origin more satisfactory is offered for such buildings as the Temple of Palingra, and others of the same *columnar* style.

The variety of figures observed in these temples does not weaken the theory. For the Dracontium may be seen in as many varieties. It had its avenues, both crooked and straight ; its circular segments, its ovals, and even its parallelograms. The avenues of Carnac, Abury, Shap, and Stanton Drew, are *sinuous* : those of Merivale and Callenich *straight*. The central areas of Abury and Stanton Drew are *circular* : the head of the Abury serpent was *oval*. The area of Le Maenac, in the Temple of Carnac, approaches to a segment of a circle, while the inclosure of Kerlescant is a parallelogram with rounded corners. So that all the figures assumed by the columnar Temples of Greece and Rome were anticipated by the sons of Cadmus, who "*sowed the Serpent's teeth.*"

But the theory of DRACONTIA illustrates facts of far greater importance than the fables of mythology, or the origin of a peculiar class of architecture. It holds up to the contemplation not only the *power* of the Evil Principle from whom every species of idolatry and every kind of vice proceeded ; but the *very form* in which that power was first made effective ; the very figure under which the Author of all Evil betrayed and corrupted the heart of man.

The existence of Dracontia proves the ancient prevalence of SERPENT WORSHIP ; and the prevalence of such an idolatry proves the Truth of the HOLY SCRIPTURES.

The mystic Serpent entered into the Mythology of every Nation ; consecrated almost every temple ; symbolized almost every deity ; was imagined

in the heavens, stamped upon the earth, and ruled in the realms of everlasting sorrow. His *subtlety* raised him into an emblem of *wisdom*; he was therefore pictured upon the ægis of Minerva, and crowned her helmet. The *knowledge of futurity* which he displayed in Paradise exalted him into a symbol of vaticination; he was therefore *oracular* and reigned at Delphi. The "opening of the eyes" of our deluded first parents obtained him an altar in the temple of the god of *healing*; he is therefore the constant companion of Æsculapius. In the distribution of his qualities the genius of Mythology did not even gloss over his malignant attributes. The fascination by which he intoxicated the souls of the first sinners, depriving them at once of purity and immortality, of the image of God and of the life of angels, was symbolically remembered and fatally celebrated in the orgies of Bacchus, where *serpents* crowned the heads of the Bacchantes, and the "Poculum Boni Dæmonis" circulated under the auspices of the Ophite Hierogram chased upon its rim.* But the most remarkable remembrance of the power of the paradisiacal serpent is displayed in the position which he retains in Tartarus. A *cunodracontic* Cerberus guards the gates; *serpents* are coiled upon the chariot wheels of Proserpine; *serpents* pave the abyss of torment; and even *serpents* constitute the caduceus of Mercury, the talisman which he holds when he conveys the soul to Tartarus. The image of the *serpent* is stamped upon every mythological fable which is connected with the realms of Pluto.

This universal concurrence of traditions proves a common source of derivation; and the *oldest* record of the legend must be that upon which they are all founded. The most ancient record of the history of the Serpent-tempter is in the Book of Genesis: in the Book of Genesis therefore is the *Fact* from which almost every superstition connected with the mythological Serpent is derived.

It is unnecessary to the subject of this communication to enter more minutely into the *causes* of the idolatry of which the Temple of Carnac is so remarkable an illustration.† I will therefore only observe, in conclusion,

* See engraving in *Archæologia*, vol. VII.

† I beg to refer the reader for further information, to my Treatise on "*The Worship of the Serpent*," in which I have entered at considerable length into the subject, here necessarily compressed into a mere allusion.

that the tradition of the Serpent is a chain of many links, which, descending from Paradise, reaches, in the energetic language of Homer,

Τόσσον ἔνεχθ' αἰδέω, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐς' ἀπὸ γαίης

but conducts us on the other hand upwards to the Promise, that "*The seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's head.*"

If the observations which have been now made should succeed in engaging the interest of any learned members of the Society in the prosecution of a branch of the study of Antiquities upon which so little is known; and especially if they should lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the Druidical treasures which are so profusely scattered over the province of Britany, and thus ultimately tend to the lifting up of the veil which hangs so heavily over the primitive religion of our country; I shall consider myself fortunate in having acted the humble, but I trust not unuseful, part of a pioneer through the wilds of the Morbihan.

I cannot but hope that the day is not far distant when, by a cordial cooperation with the Antiquaries of Britany, our Society may be enabled to clear away the mist which envelopes the early history of the Celtic religion; for I am persuaded that the more intimate is our knowledge of the esoteric mysteries of that powerful superstition, the more cause shall we have for "holding fast the profession of our own faith;" for with all its corruptions it approached nearer to the Truth than any other idolatrous worship; and exhibits "as in a glass darkly" almost every important feature of the first religion of man. I cannot imagine a more interesting, a more pleasing, and I may add a more beneficial research.

I remain, my dear Sir,

with great respect,

your obliged servant,

JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary,
 &c. &c. &c.

XIII. *Remarks on certain Celtic Monuments at Locmariaker, in Britany; in a Letter from the Rev. JOHN BATHURST DEANE, M.A., F.S.A., to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 17th January, 1833.

London, January 17, 1833.

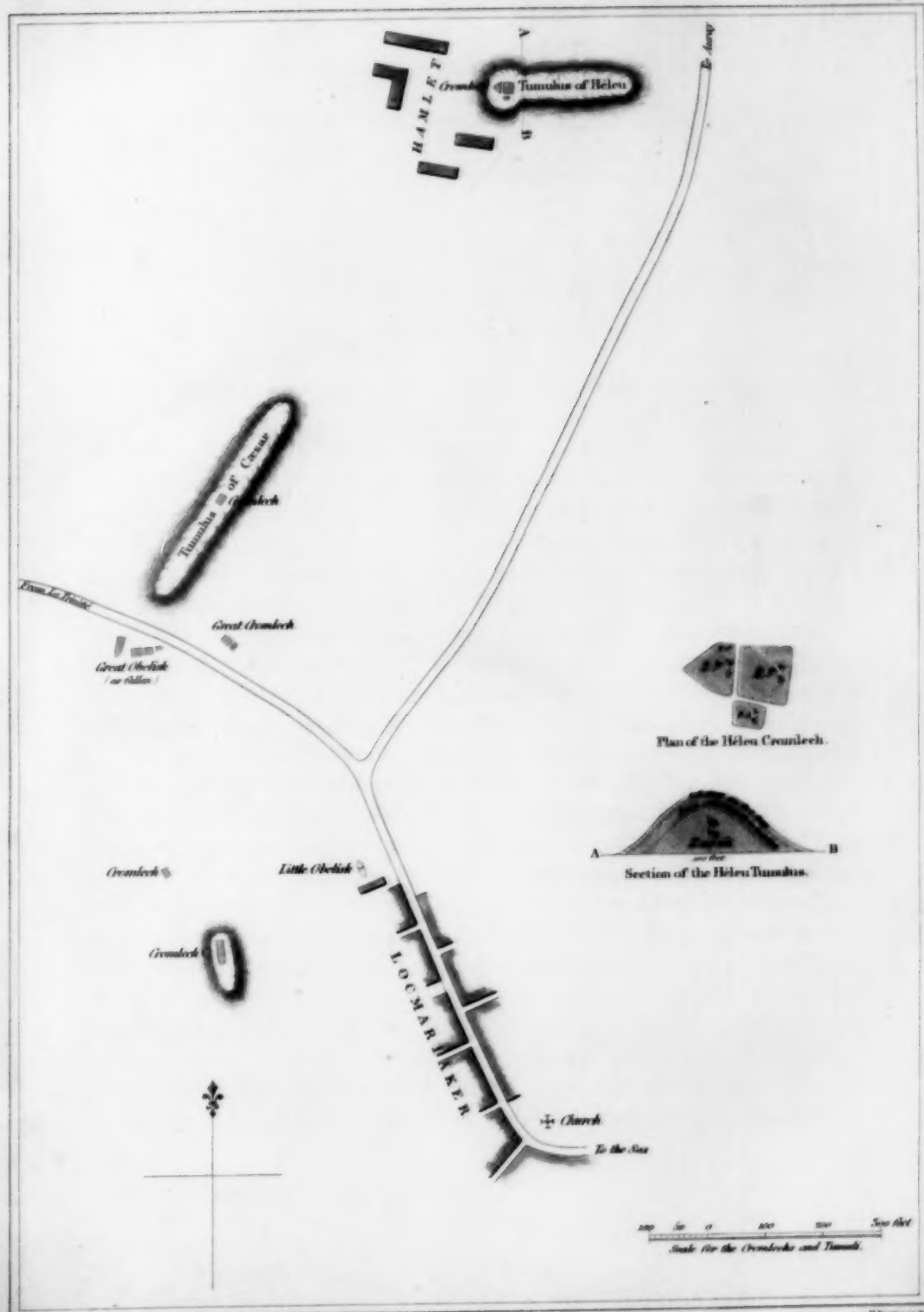
MY DEAR SIR,

THE accompanying plan of the village of Locmariaker and its vicinity is necessary to the completion of my description of the Dracontium of Carnac, lately read to the Society of Antiquaries; and I shall be obliged if you will lay it, together with the following remarks, before the Society.

In my late communication I expressed an opinion that the Temple of Carnac originally extended as far as the present Locmariaker; and I conceive that my conjecture is much corroborated by the beautiful Celtic monuments remaining in that vicinity. Locmariaker is by some supposed to have been the ancient capital of the Veneti before the seat of Government was removed to Vannes. But this is not probable, from considerations too numerous to recite, and too irrelevant to my subject. Locmariaker was, however, without doubt, a great town, and the capital of the district in which it stood. For here is to be seen a group of some of the most interesting Celtic remains in the Morbihan.

The accompanying plan (Plate XXV.) exhibits within a small area *two long tumuli*, each containing a Kistvaen; a *small tumulus* with a Kistvaen of unusual length; *two cromlechs*, one of them of singular beauty; and *two obelisks*, each carved out of a single stone, of which one measured upwards of 35 feet in length, the other 63!

1. The tumuli are clearly sepulchral from the evidence of the Kistvaens which they once covered. The two largest are called the mounds of *Héleu*,



Murray Fraser del.

J. Fraser sculp.

Plan of Celtic Remains at Locmariaker.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27 April, 1885.

and of *Cæsar*. The small one is nameless, although it contains the longest Kistvaen.

The tumulus of Héleu is 100 feet broad, 300 feet long, and has an elevation of 30 feet. That of *Cæsar* is of the same elevation and breadth, but 400 feet in length. They are both composed of layers of earth and stones, separate and mixed. The section of Héleu given in the plan shows 26 feet of earth, overlaid by a coating three feet deep of earth and stones, surmounted by a covering of earth one foot in depth.

This tumulus is remarkable for its shape, which is very similar to that of the Temple of Carnac at Le Maenac; a campanular head being added to the usual straight mound of parallel sides.

In this head is a Kistvaen of considerable dimensions; and particularly interesting, as being partly exposed and partly covered. It affords an example of the manner in which the Kistvaens were overlaid by tumuli. Two tabular stones cover the chamber. One is a parallelogram fifteen feet six inches by fourteen feet; the other, an irregular quadrangular figure with an acute angle pointed towards the entrance of the tomb. Its breadth at the base, where it meets the parallelogram, is fourteen feet nine inches; its breadth from the angle to the base, thirteen feet. The dolmen is supported in the usual manner upon massive props. The whole length of the Kistvaen is twenty-seven feet, the depth of the chamber six feet.

The other long tumulus, which has its Kistvaen in the centre, is ridiculously ascribed to Julius *Cæsar*, whose only work (if it was indeed his) in the neighbourhood of Locmariaker, is a curious square embankment on the sea shore about a mile distant, round a marine marsh, appearing to have been made for the purpose of a dry dock. General de Penhouët, who discovered it, thinks it Roman; and it has every appearance of being so. The tumulus of *Cæsar* has been much disturbed, and its Kistvaen destroyed.

2. But near it is the most beautiful cromlech which I have ever seen; and I may add, the most interesting. The table stone, which is eighteen feet long, twelve feet wide, and four feet thick, is supported upon three props, on one of which it rests upon a very small point. It has the approach usually attached to the Kistvaens of Britany, consisting of an avenue of contiguous stones placed edge to edge, and covered in by three slabs of

stones. The highest part of the table is about nine feet from the ground, the height of the approach is about four feet.

Although this monument is, strictly speaking, a cromlech, yet the ashes and a flint knife which have been discovered under it, together with the avenue of approach, prove it to have been sepulchral.

The beauty of this cromlech would of itself be sufficiently interesting; but, in addition to its elegance of figure, it presented to our admiration the only hieroglyphical characters which it was our fortune to see inscribed on a Celtic monument; unless I except a rude unmeaning or rather unintelligible scrawl upon one of the supporting stones of the Dolmen of Penab, which bears more resemblance to the human ear than to any other figure.

The extreme supporter of the table stone of the Cromlech of "Cæsar" is charged with remarkable curvilinear characters, regularly arranged in two columns, each containing three divisions of four lines each. Great care has been bestowed upon their execution, for they are not cut into the stone, but raised upon it. I cannot conceive what they were intended to represent.

The table also exhibits upon its under surface two hieroglyphical diagrams, similarly raised upon the stone, whose execution is admirable, though one of them is imperfect, from the peeling of the stone by frost.

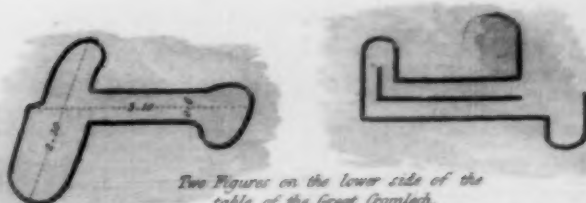
I confess myself ignorant of the meaning of these hieroglyphics also, and leave their interpretation to more experienced antiquaries. One of them resembles, in some degree, the instrument called a *Celt*; the other is more like a *key*. But M. Mahé, who seems to have seen only the former (which was my case on my first visit, for the latter is more obscurely traced), called it an *ιψάλλος*. The conjecture is plausible, if the worship of the Phallus can be clearly proved against the Armoricans. That Asiatic and Egyptian ideas had, by some means or other penetrated into this country, is probable from several facts insisted on by M. de Penhouët. Thus, there is an artificially carved rock in the Morbihan which very closely resembles the god *Anubis*. Again, the Syrian deity *Lilith*, so celebrated in the mythology of the Jewish Rabbins, was once adored in the Morbihan. Her statue may be still seen in a perfect state at the chateau of Quinipili, near Baud, where it was placed upon a pedestal by a former owner of the domain. The only covering which the figure has is a cap with two flaps; and what is very re-



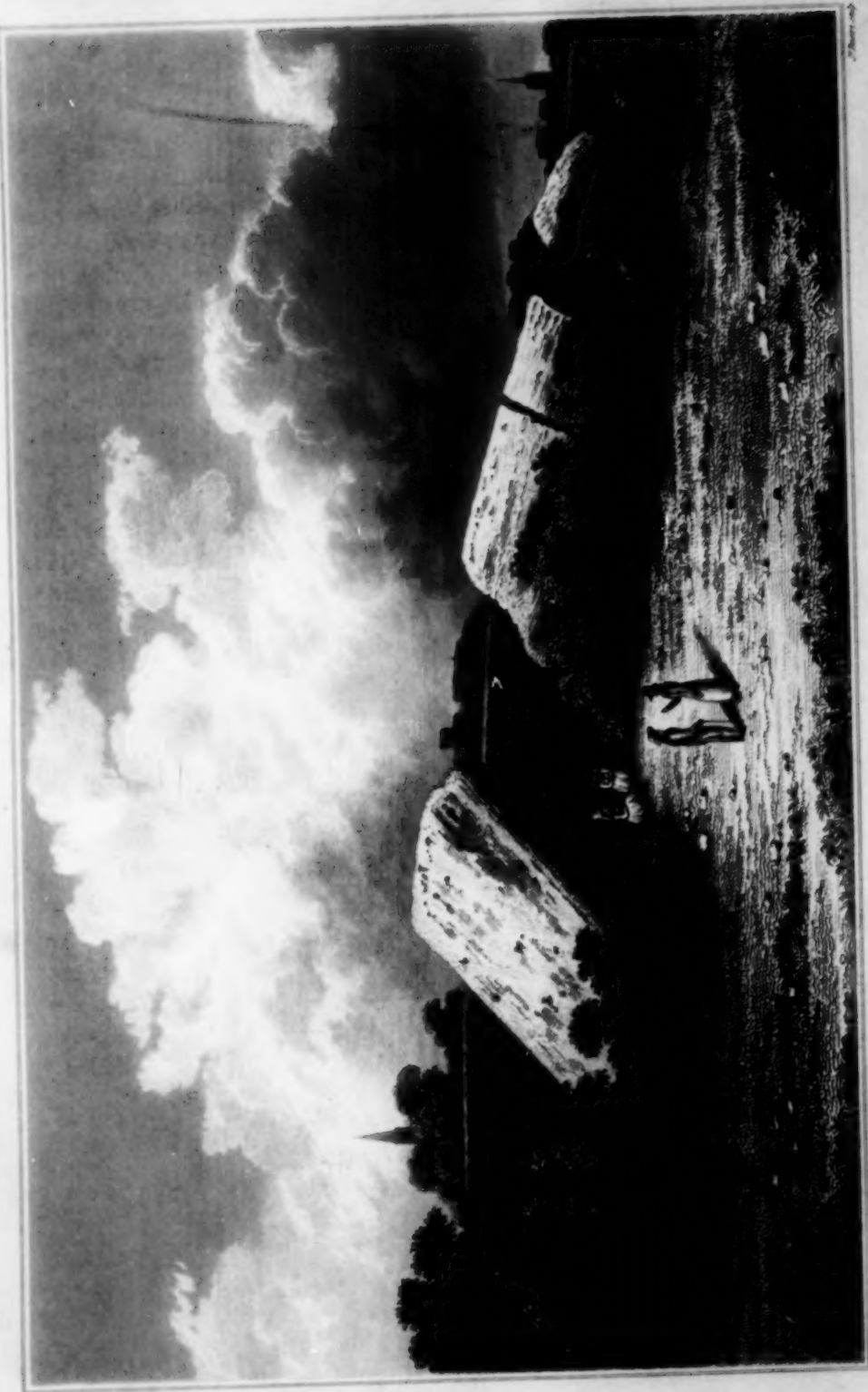
View of the Great Cromlech.



*Inner View of the North West
Support of the Gr. Cromlech.
7.8 in wide and 6.5 in high.*



*Two Figures on the lower side of the
table of the Great Cromlech.*



Obelisk at Lomnarak.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25 April 1850.

markable, the head-dress of the female peasantry of the commune in which the statue stands, is precisely a copy of *Lilith's* cap, and worn in the same manner! For how many centuries that head-gear has been worn it is in vain to guess. Another peculiarity of dress, which savours of an oriental origin, is observable among the male peasants: they all wear a checked cloth, like the South-country plaid of Scotland, bound round the loins, and call it a "*turban*." My friend M. de Penhouët conjectures that, when the Asiatic colony (whoever they were) emigrated to Britany, they transferred the turban from the head to the loins, retaining the name, though they lost the original use of the garment. Still, however, I do not see sufficient evidence of the worship of the Phallus in Armorica, which must have prevailed, if the hieroglyphic on the cromlech is a representation of the *βύφαλλος*.

Within another tomb at Locmariaker (now I believe destroyed), M. de Penhouët discovered, in 1813, several very interesting hieroglyphics, which he has engraved in his "*Archéologie Armoricaine*." The circle (single and concentric), the *horse-shoe*, the *branch of a tree*, and the *harp*, are the symbols chiefly delineated. The first three are sometimes seen in conjunction with the horse and horse's head upon the coins of Armorica.

3. The third species of monument remaining at Locmariaker is the round OBELISK. A beautiful one stood at the head of Cæsar's tumulus; and it was sixty-three feet in length and fourteen feet in diameter at the thickest part, which is at about twenty feet from the base. From this point it tapers gradually both ways. Another obelisk, about thirty-five feet in length, lies at the entrance of the village; its tumulus was perhaps removed to make room for a house. Each of these is cut out of a single stone.

These obelisks probably denoted the burial-places of warriors of the first rank: and may have originated in the well-known custom still prevalent in the East, of planting an upright spear at the head of a Chief as he slept upon the ground. It was thus that David found Saul on the hill of Hachilah: "*Behold Saul lay sleeping within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster.*"^a This custom was universal in the East. Homer mentions it, and it has been repeatedly observed by travellers in Persia and Hindūstan. The spear at the head, thus planted, always denotes a warrior of the highest rank.

^a 1 Samuel, xxvi. 7.

Some mighty Celtic chief may in like manner be supposed to be sleeping at Locmariaker, under the tumulus of Cæsar, "with his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster:" only the sleep being that of death, the spear is of a material of corresponding duration; it is an obelisk of stone cut out of a single block.

The evangelizers of Britany, for they probably were the destroyers, suffered not the warrior's spear to mark his last resting-place. The obelisk was overthrown, as an object of superstitious veneration, and now lies broken in four pieces. The tomb also has been rifled of its sacred deposit; and the whole is but a variety of the continual work of ruin which in every country records the mutability of man, and the vanity of his earthly hopes.

The original weight of this column must have been about 260 tons! and the labour required to remove it from the quarry and to plant it at the head of the tumulus of Cæsar may be imagined, by calling to our recollection the power employed by Fontana to place the obelisk of the Vatican in its present site at Rome. The latter column was only fifteen feet longer than the obelisk before us; and, although it weighed only 150 tons, whereas that of Locmariaker weighed 260, yet it required the united efforts of eight hundred men and sixty horses, complex machinery, and the expenditure of £5000, to remove it for a short distance, and erect it as it now stands! We should also recollect that the erection of the obelisk of Locmariaker was the work of a rude age, ignorant, probably, of the mechanical powers, and mainly effected by human strength.

Such are the monuments in the *immediate* vicinity of Locmariaker; but the commune is covered with many vestiges of the religious and powerful people who once worshipped in the Dracontium of Carnac. From the number and nature of these Celtic remains, I cannot but think it probable that the Temple of Carnac extended to Locmariaker, the ancient capital of the district. This opinion may be erroneous; but the indications are strong.

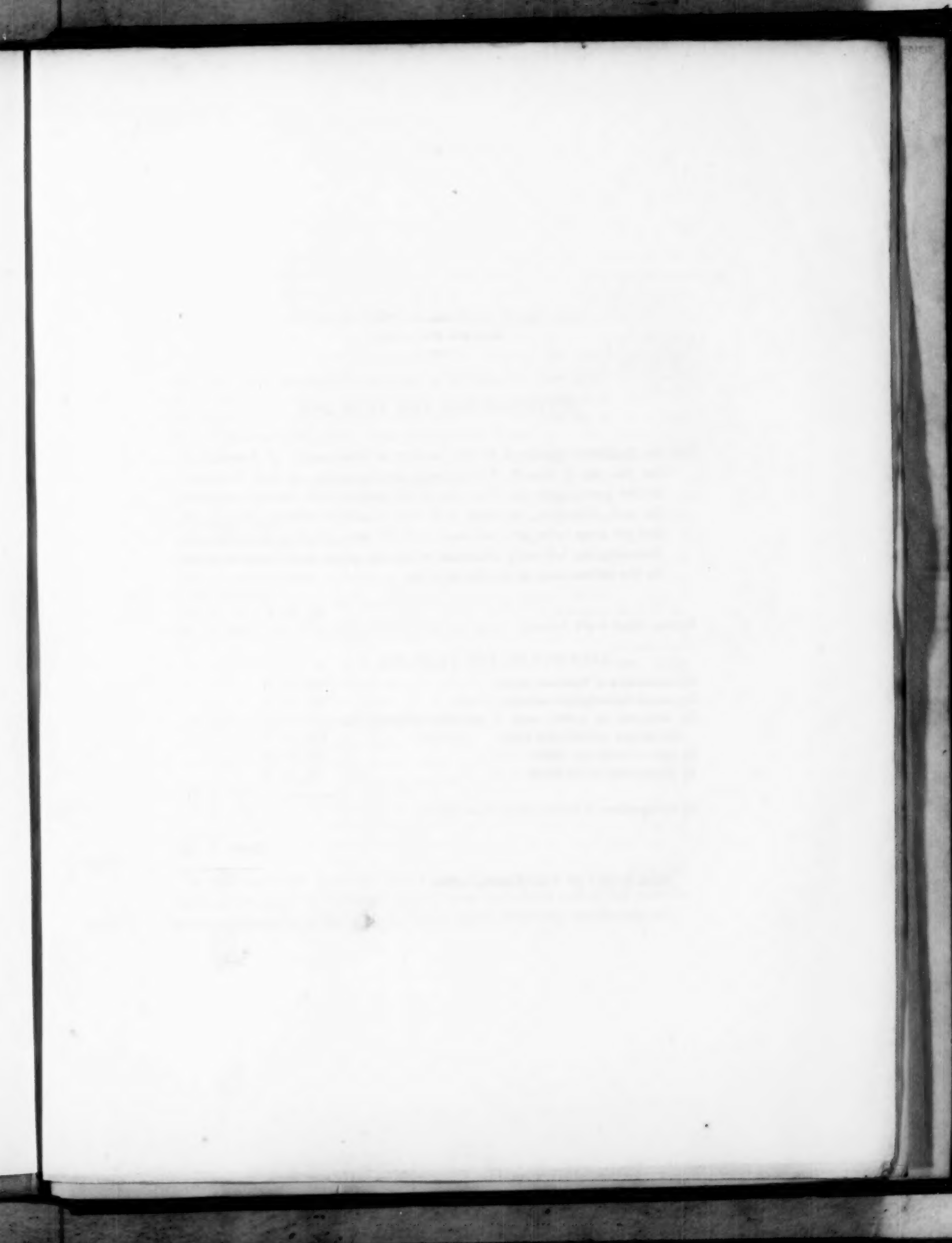
With these remarks I conclude my observations on the Antiquities of the Morbihan; and remain, with great respect,

My dear Sir,

yours sincerely,

JOHN BATHURST DEANE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.



Read 29th March, 1833.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1832.

WE the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 7th day of March 1833, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1832, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Account the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				169	6	5½

RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1832.

By Admissions of Members elected	109	4	0
By annual Subscriptions including Arrears	971	5	0
By dividends on 7,200 <i>l.</i> stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th January and 5th July 1832	216	0	0
By Sale of Books and Prints	165	17	10
By Stamp-duty on ten Bonds	15	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1477	6	10
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscription	241	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£1888	3	3½

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 7,200*l.*

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1832.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Expenses of Publications by the Society	917	16	11			
For Taxes	22	4	8			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, viz. Coals, Candles, and House Expenses	130	0	9½			
For Incidental Expenses, viz.						
Insurance	22	11	0			
Anniversary Dinner	23	7	0			
Watering the street	2	2	0			
Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and petty Cash	59	16	2½			
Collecting Subscriptions	47	14	3			
Stamps for Bonds	7	10	0			
				1655	17	10
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, 1st January 1833				232	5	5½
				£1888	3	3½

Witness our hands this 26th day of March 1833.

(Signed)

E. LLANDAFF.
THO. PHILLIPS.
J. H. MARKLAND.

In addition to the foregoing Report, the Treasurer states, that, since the Audit of last year, the undermentioned sums have been subscribed towards the expences of the publication of Anglo-Saxon Works by the Society, viz.

		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By Sir John Swinburne, Bart.	-	5	0	0
Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.	-	5	0	0
Rev. Joseph W. Niblock, D. D.		1	1	0
Richard Taylor, Esq.	-	10	0	0

amounting, with the former Subscriptions, to the sum of £236. 1s. exclusive of the Rev. William Conybeare's liberal donation of 100 copies (25 of which are on large paper) of his edition of the late Rev. John Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, to be sold at reduced prices in aid of the Saxon Fund. The Treasurer has already paid £150 for the transcribing and editing of Cædmon's metrical Paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures, and £80 for transcriptions of the two manuscripts of Layamon's translation of Wace's Chronicle of the Brut, not yet in the press. As the publication of Cædmon has been accidentally delayed till the commencement of the present year, the bills for printing, and for other expenses attending it, have not yet been received, and its sale has hitherto been limited. The account therefore of receipts and disbursements for Anglo-Saxon Works is necessarily postponed till the Audit next year, when it will be included, under a separate head, in the next General Account of the Society.

